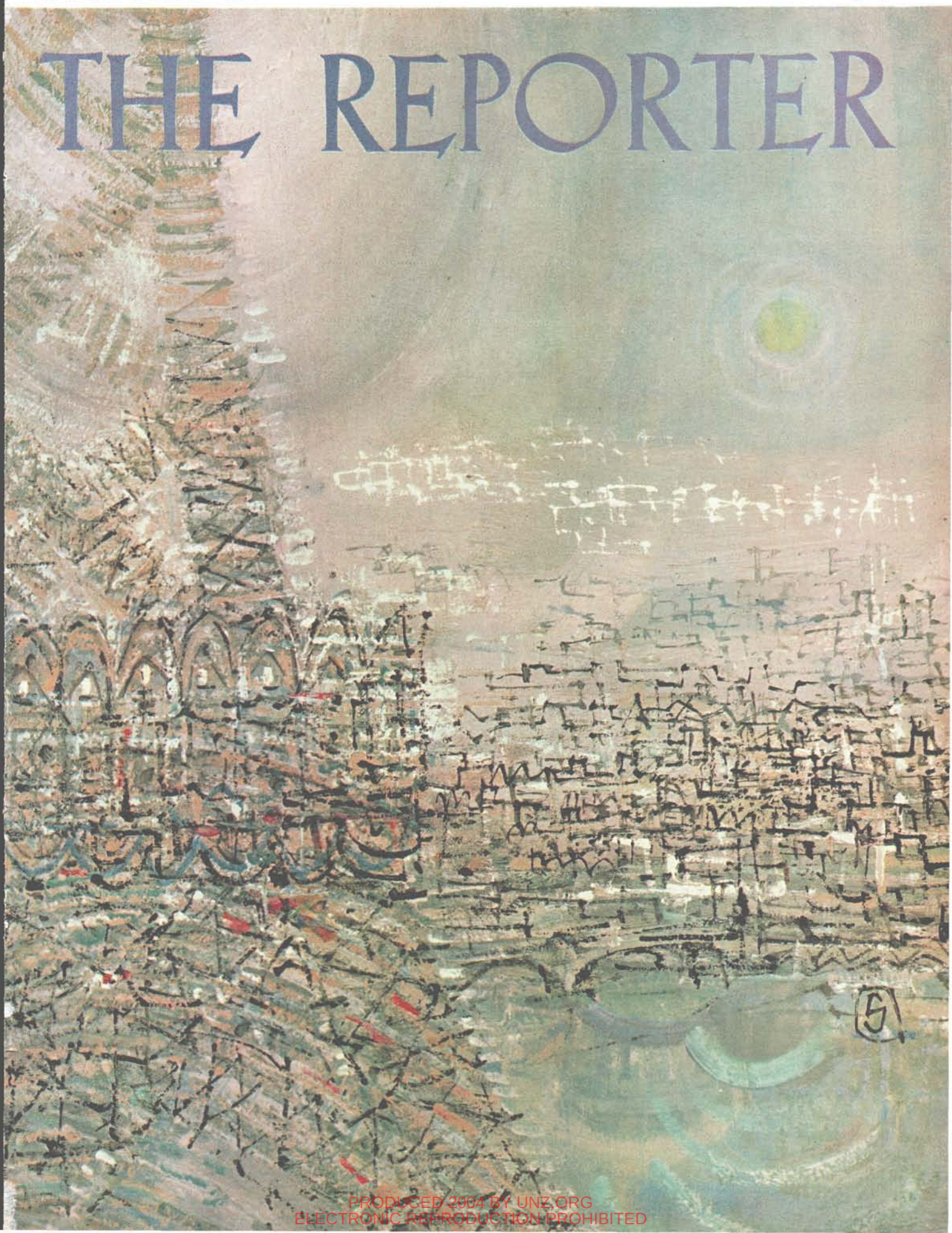
AND NOW WE GO TO WORK

November 24, 1960 25¢

Remember Hungary

THE REPORTER



PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRESS AND ACCESSORIES BY SAKS FIFTH AVENUE

Luxurious adventure—a dram of Drambuie

80 PROOF

Moment of moments . . . cordial of cordials . . . a dram of Drambuie! Made with a base of finest Scotch whisky, Drambuie is truly a luxurious adventure. Originally the personal liqueur of Prince Charles Edward, Drambuie has been made in Scotland since 1745 from Bonnie Prince Charlie's secret recipe. Enjoy Drambuie in the traditional cordial glass—or on the rocks, with twist of lemon peel if desired.

Drambuie

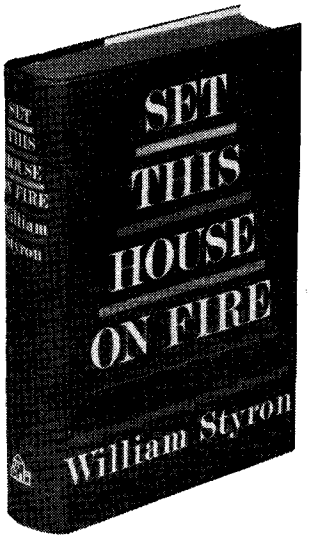
The cordial with the Scotch whisky base

IMPORTED BY W. A. TAYLOR & COMPANY, NEW YORK, N.Y.—SOLE DISTRIBUTORS FOR THE U.S.A.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

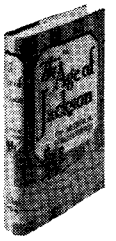
Any 3 Books FREE

WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION



Set This House on Fire, William Styron. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.25.

The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.



The Age of Jackson, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.50. Member's price $3.95.

The Crisis of the Old Order, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.

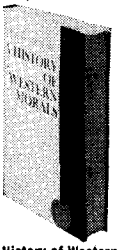
The Coming of the New Deal, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.75. Member's price $4.75.

Advertisements for Myself, Norman Mailer. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.75.

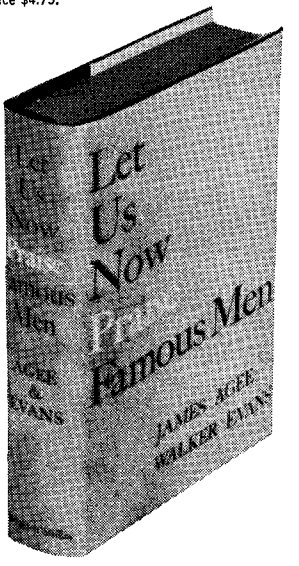
The Origins of Psychoanalysis: Sigmund Freud's Letters. Retail $6.75. Member's price $3.75.

The Greek Myths, Robert Graves. One volume edition. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.75.

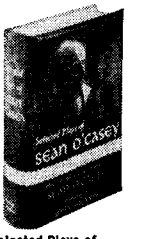
The Joy of Music, Leonard Bernstein. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95.



A History of Western Morals, Crane Brinton. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.50.



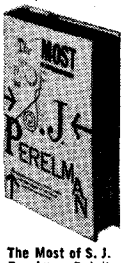
Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.



Selected Plays of Sean O'Casey. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Creation of Woman, Theodor Reik. Retail $3.75. Member's price $2.75.

The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel, Nikos Kazantzakis. Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95.

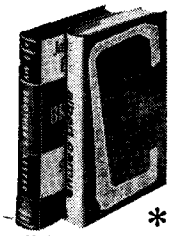


The Most of S. J. Perelman. Retail $5.95. Member's price $3.95.

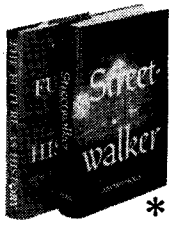
The Complete Work of Nathanael West. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.95.

The Holy Barbarians, Lawrence Lipton. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.

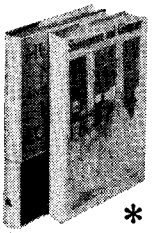
America as a Civilization, Max Lerner. Retail $10.00. Member's price $4.95.



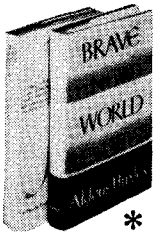
My Brother's Keeper, Stanislaus Joyce; *and* **Albert Camus: The Invincible Summer,** Albert Maquet. Combined retail price $8.75. Member's price (for both books) $4.50. *



Streetwalker, Anonymous; *and* **The Future as History,** Robert Heilbroner. Combined retail price $7.50. Member's price (for both books) $4.50. *



Shakespeare and Company, Sylvia Beach; *and* **Human Nature and the Human Condition,** Joseph Wood Krutch. Combined retail price $8.45. Member's price $4.75. *

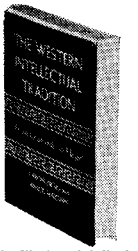


J. B., Archibald MacLeish; *and* **Brave New World Revisited,** Aldous Huxley. Combined retail price $6.50. Member's price $4.50. *

A History of Sexual Customs, Dr. Richard Lewinsohn. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.50.

Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, edited by C. Wright Mills. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society, Edited by Maurice Stein, Arthur J. Vidich, and David Manning White. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.75.



The Western Intellectual Tradition: From Leonardo to Hegel, J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE! Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club **are** different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits and privileges of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection. Since several are dual selections*, you may acquire as many as 8 books in this way.

CONVENIENCE. Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want.

AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%. As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $32.70.**

BONUS BOOKS. When your initial commitment has been fulfilled, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

* **Two books counting as one selection**

THE BOOK FIND CLUB

215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, N. Y.

You may enroll me as a member of the Book Find Club and send me the three free books of my choice with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy at least four additional selections—or alternates—in the next twelve months. When my initial commitment has been fulfilled, I will be entitled to a **free bonus book** of my own choosing after every third selection that I take. I am to receive each month without charge the **Book Find News** containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at special member's prices. This will enable me to make my own choice: if I do not want the selection announced I can return your form saying "send me nothing" or use it to order another book from the more than 100 current choice titles offered. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the five additional selections or alternates.

First Selection _____

Free Books 1 _____

2 _____

Mr. Mrs. Miss 3 _____

Please print full name

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

(Same offer and prices apply in Canada. Address: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ontario)

B60-117

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW A BONER HELPED ME EARN $15,000

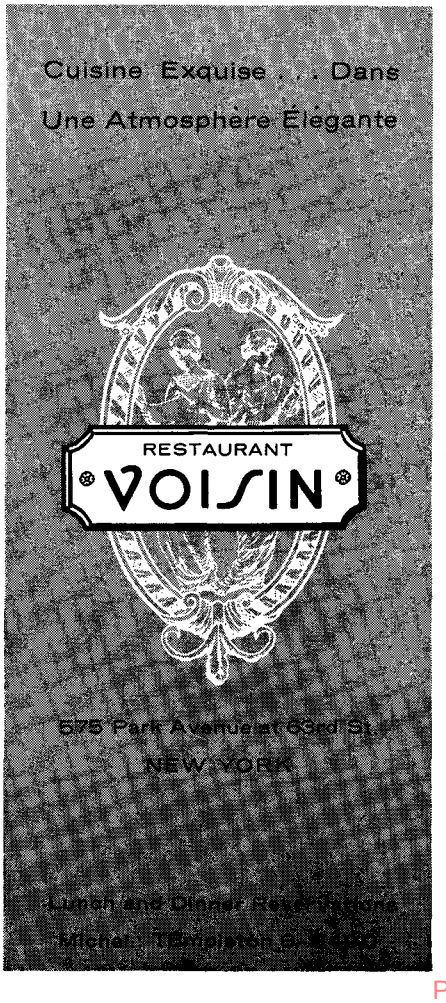
By a Wall Street Journal Subscriber

One time on a business trip, a hotel porter delivered a copy of The Wall Street Journal to my room by mistake.

Well, I looked at The Journal. For the first time in my life I began to understand why some men get ahead while others stay behind. I learned about the far-reaching changes taking place in America. I found out about new inventions, new industries and new ways of doing business that are helping ambitious men earn money. I sent for a year's subscription to The Wall Street Journal and, believe me, it has paid off. Last year my income was $15,000.

This story is typical. The Journal is a wonderful aid to men making $7,500 to $25,000 a year. To assure speedy delivery to you, The Journal is printed daily in seven cities from coast to coast.

The Wall Street Journal has the largest staff of writers on business and finance. It costs $24 a year, but in order to acquaint you with The Journal, we make this offer: You can get a Trial Subscription for 3 months for $7. Just send this ad with check for $7. Or tell us to bill you. Address: The Wall Street Journal, 44 Broad St., New York 4, N. Y. RM 11-24



THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Executive Editor, Philip Horton • *Managing Editor,* Robert Bingham
Senior Editor, Gouverneur Paulding • *Washington Editor,* Douglass Cater
Associate Editor, Cyrilly Abels • *Art Director,* Reg Massie
Assistant Managing Editor, Derek Morgan
Staff Writers: Claire Sterling, Marya Mannes, Paul Jacobs, Edmond Taylor
Assistant to the Managing Editor, Louisa Messolonghites • *Librarian,* Ruth Ames

General Manager, John J. Borghi
Circulation Manager, George Hinckley • *Director of Advertising,* Harry R. Davis
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander • *Production Manager,* Ann Hollyday Sharp

VOLUME 23. NO. 9 **NOVEMBER 24, 1960**

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 14

Agenda for the New Government

AND NOW WE GO TO WORK—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Max Ascoli* 20
ALGERIA'S THREAT TO THE ALLIANCE . . . . . *Edmond Taylor* 21
THE NEW CULT OF NEUTRALISM . . . . . *Henry A. Kissinger* 26
AN ECONOMIST'S VIEW OF OUR UNFINISHED BUSINESS . . . . . *Arthur F. Burns* 30

At Home & Abroad

REMEMBER HUNGARY:
1. THE WAR GOES ON . . . . . *George Bailey* 36
2. CARDINAL IN A CAGE . . . . . *Daniel Schorr* 39
A MOVIE WITH A MESSAGE . . . . . *Paul Jacobs* 41

Views & Reviews

IT'S ALL IN THE FAMILY . . . . . *Michael J. Halberstam* 42
A TASTE OF ZANY . . . . . *Marya Mannes* 45
DEBUT OF A MASTER PIANIST . . . . . *Roland Gelatt* 46
WHATEVER HAPPENED TO FLYING SAUCERS? . . . . . *Marcus Cunliffe* 48
Books:
STEPHEN CRANE'S SCARLET WOMAN . . . . . *Alfred Kazin* 53
OLD SOLDIERS NEVER DIE . . . . . *Robert P. Knapp, Jr.* 56
TWELVE YEARS OF TERROR . . . . . *John Kenneth Galbraith* 59
FROM BEOWULF TO MR. ELIOT . . . . . *George Steiner* 60
THE REPORTER PUZZLE 50

Editorial and Business Offices:
660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

THE REPORTER, November 24, 1960, Volume 23, No. 9. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

© 1960 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention.

Subscription prices, United States, Canada, U.S. Possessions and Pan-American Union: One year $6, Two years $9.50, Three years $12. All other countries: One year $7, Two years $11.50, Three years $15. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address, giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton 1, Ohio.** Indexed in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

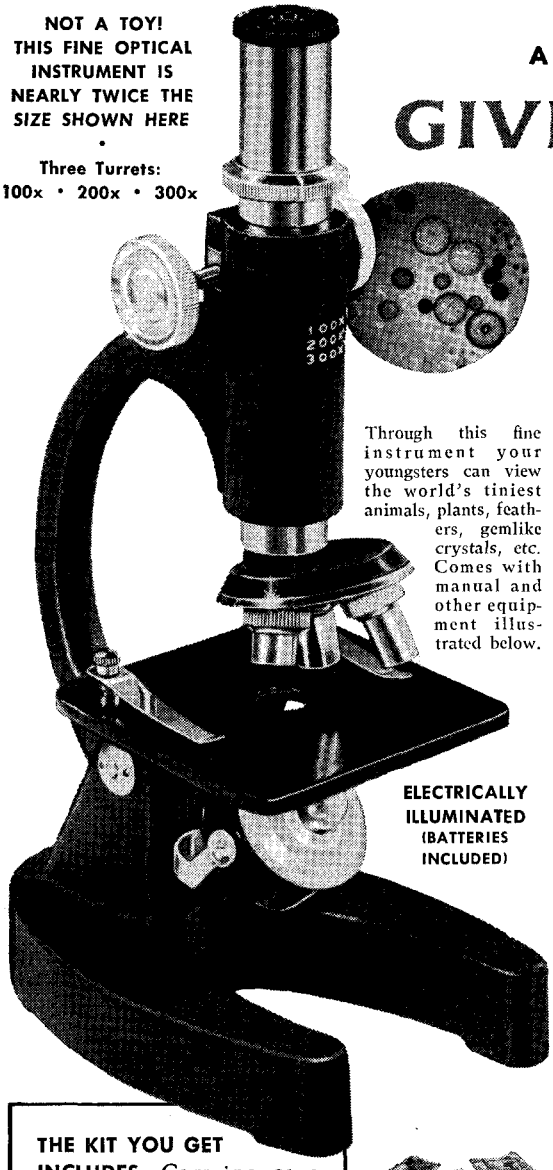
START YOUR CHILD ON THIS SENSIBLE PLAN based on exciting books about SCIENCE and HISTORY . . . designed to instill a lifetime love of good books and to assist him—without pressure—with his school work

AN IDEAL CHRISTMAS GIFT *(see below)*

NOT A TOY! THIS FINE OPTICAL INSTRUMENT IS NEARLY TWICE THE SIZE SHOWN HERE

•

Three Turrets: 100x • 200x • 300x



A **TRIPLE-TURRET** MICROSCOPE KIT—"SCHOOL SIZE"

GIVEN TO YOUR CHILD

WITH A FOUR-MONTH TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION TO

Young Readers of America

A BOOK CLUB FOR BOYS AND GIRLS (FROM 8 TO 14)

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF Book-of-the-Month Club

Through this fine instrument your youngsters can view the world's tiniest animals, plants, feathers, gemlike crystals, etc. Comes with manual and other equipment illustrated below.

ELECTRICALLY ILLUMINATED (BATTERIES INCLUDED)

THE PLAN . To encourage — *without pressure* — a natural love of reading is the sound educational principle of the YOUNG READERS OF AMERICA* plan. It provides—at regular intervals, which is extremely important — authoritative books that are, above all, *fun to read*. The "library building" habit thus acquired in childhood is the most precious that can be developed in any child. There are two separate series involved, one covering history and the other science. You can subscribe to either one for your child, **or to both at a 10% discount.**

(1) THE ALLABOUT BOOKS are comprehensive books about SCIENCE. Each of these volumes—from dinosaurs and astronomy to atoms and sputniks—is written by an eminently qualified science writer and is accurately and profusely illustrated.

(2) THE LANDMARK BOOKS about American and world HISTORY are written by outstanding authors whose reputations were made in the field of serious adult writing — authors like John Gunther, Pearl Buck, Thomas B. Costain, John Mason Brown and many others.

✶ **A FOUR-MONTH TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION** is suggested, in order to see how your own young reader responds to the idea. To excite and inspire him immediately, he will receive, *free*, the enrollment gift pictured at left. He will also receive the ALLABOUT or LANDMARK BOOK you select as the first purchase from the two listed in the coupon. At the end of the trial subscription, if you do not feel that the plan is succeeding with your child, you are free to cancel.

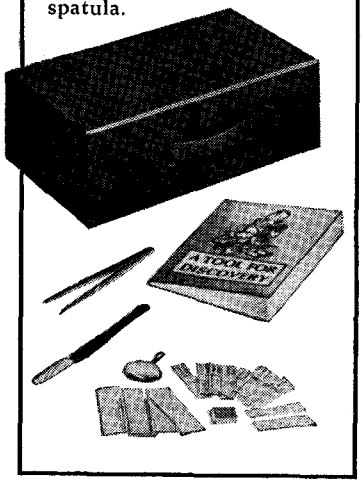
✶ **THE SYSTEM IS SIMPLE**— each month your child will receive a book addressed to him personally. The price to subscribers, *lower than the regular retail price*, is only $1.75 each, plus a small charge for mailing.

✶ **IF YOU DECIDE** to subscribe to both series (one ALLABOUT and one LANDMARK BOOK each month) you will receive a discount of 10%, making the special combined price $3.15, plus the postage and handling charge.

NOTE ABOUT CHRISTMAS: If you wish the subscription to begin as a Christmas surprise, simply check the proper box in the coupon. The enrollment gift and the first purchase will be sent in packages plainly labeled "Do not open until Christmas." Enclosed will be a card naming you as the donor.

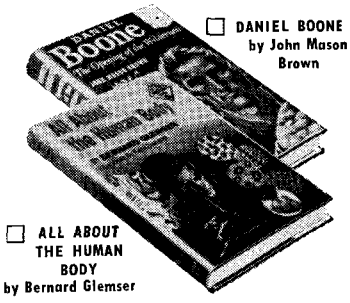
*Trademark of Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc.

THE KIT YOU GET INCLUDES: Carrying case, the microscope, instruction manual, 10 prepared slides, 5 blank slides, slide covers, magnifying glass, tweezers, spatula.



ALSO GIVEN . . . 50 BOOKPLATES

BEGIN WITH ONE OF THESE—OR BOTH



☐ DANIEL BOONE by John Mason Brown

☐ ALL ABOUT THE HUMAN BODY by Bernard Glemser

NOTE TO PARENTS: ALL ABOUT THE HUMAN BODY contains perhaps the best and most sensible description of human physiology ever written for children. It includes an illustrated explanation of the process of reproduction that has been called "a model of clarity and dignity."

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., 345 Hudson Street, N. Y. 14, N. Y.
YOUNG READERS OF AMERICA Branch **9-11**

Please enroll the child named below in a four-month trial subscription to *Young Readers of America* and send him, free (there is a charge for postage), the "SCHOOL SIZE" TRIPLE TURRET MICROSCOPE KIT and fifty bookplates with the purchase of the first book(s) indicated. You are to send the child:

Check one

- ☐ one **ALLABOUT BOOK** each month and bill me at $1.75 (plus a small charge for postage and handling) for each book.
- ☐ one **LANDMARK BOOK** each month and bill me at $1.75 (plus a small charge for postage and handling) for each book.
- ☐ one **ALLABOUT** and one **LANDMARK BOOK** each month and bill me at $3.15 (plus a small charge for postage and handling) for each shipment.

I may cancel the subscription any time after receiving four shipments of books. As the child's first purchase send the book (or books) checked at the left. (For combination subscription check both books.)

This order must be filled in and signed by PARENT or DONOR

SEND BOOKS TO.....
Name of Child—Please Print

Street.....

City.....Zone....State.....

ORDERED BY Mr. / Mrs. / Miss .....
Signature of Parent or Donor

Street.....

City.....Zone....State.....

☐ **IF YOU WANT THIS AS A CHRISTMAS GIFT, CHECK HERE. PACKAGE WILL ARRIVE IN TIME FOR CHRISTMAS IF ORDER IS RECEIVED BY DECEMBER 10.** **YR 32**

NOTE: In Canada, LANDMARK and ALLABOUT BOOKS are $1.95 each ($3.45 for a combination subscription) plus postage and handling, and are shipped *duty free* from Toronto.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Harcourt, Brace

Jacob K. Javits
DISCRIMINATION—U.S.A.

"If you want to be apathetic, unaroused or purposefully ignorant of this basic and challenging issue of our days, don't even think of opening the book. But if you want responsible, authoritative and stimulating information, here it is."
—R. STAFFORD DERBY, *Christian Science Monitor*
$4.95

Clinton Rossiter
MARXISM:
THE VIEW FROM AMERICA

"The reader seeking an introduction to Marxism and the case against it will find this volume rewarding reading." — MERLE FAINSOD, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review*. "A splendid book."—SEYMOUR E. HARRIS, *N. Y. Times Book Review* $6.75

Edmund G. Love
ARSENIC AND RED TAPE

A hilarious chronicle about the pitfalls of bureaucracy in government, business, and in the home, including the story of the man who lived by government pamphlet, the mechanical brain that rebelled and ran backwards, the supermarket department chief who waged a private war against the customers. By the author of *Subways Are for Sleeping*. $3.75

James Baar and William E. Howard
POLARIS!

The story of America's new nuclear submarine-missile combination including detailed accounts of the dedicated personnel in the Polaris program, the design and test stages of the weapon, the strategy behind its use, and the political undercurrents and inter-service rivalry that threatened its completion. The authors are editors of *Missiles and Rockets*. Illustrated with photographs. $4.50

Gerald Weales
TALE FOR THE BLUEBIRD

The hero of this picaresque, satiric novel takes an unusually eventful journey from one end of the U.S. to the other, and encounters almost every type of American you can think of. "It is a satirical fantasy about us, done with wit, taste, and a lightness of touch that is essential but rarely to be found." — HARVEY SWADOS. "The author is to be complimented for his courage but above all for his irreverence . . . It is always full of gusto, surprises and fresh observations."
— *New Republic* $3.95

At all bookstores
HARCOURT, BRACE

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

NOW THAT the Presidential Series is over, we can all get back to work, as **Max Ascoli** says in his editorial. This is eminently our own case. These quadrennial periods of militant partisanship are an interruption of our normal work as critics and interpreters of public events.

President-elect Kennedy, having run behind his party in the election, is now in the difficult predicament of dealing with a majority party—his own—that is not too afraid of him. One of his first and most critical problems, providing it doesn't blow up in our faces before January 20, will be the task of sorting out the tangle of unrelated policies the Eisenhower administration has followed in NATO, North Africa, and the United Nations. **Edmond Taylor,** our European correspondent, analyzes the forces at work in France as the crisis in Algeria poses a dangerous new challenge to the authority of President de Gaulle. Certainly de Gaulle is not a man to accept any patronizing from the United States, but at the same time he needs the discreet and friendly co-operation of our government. . . . **Henry A. Kissinger** proposes that we also reconsider our attitudes toward the new nations of Africa and Asia. Here again, the Eisenhower administration—or maybe both parties—has been hopefully engaged in a vague sort of "vote-gathering" campaign among the uncommitted nations. Professor Kissinger's article is based on a chapter of his book *The Necessity for Choice: Prospects of American Foreign Policy,* which will be published by Harper this winter. . . . **Arthur F. Burns,** who served as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers during the first Eisenhower term, reviews the achievements of the American economy and proposes goals. There may be different views of our present economic situation, but given the authority of Dr. Burns we think his opinions are worthy of our readers' attention. His article is based on a convocation address given at the University of Chicago on September 2.

WHEN Khrushchev and his lackeys were at the United Nations, they yelled like Yahoos whenever Hungary was mentioned. We do not propose, however, to forget Hungary. Furthermore, the Hungarians themselves are not forgetting their revolution of 1956. **George Bailey,** our correspondent in Central Europe, is fluent in the language of those he interviewed on a recent trip to Budapest. . . . Also writing from Budapest, **Daniel Schorr,** CBS correspondent in Germany and Central Europe, describes the daily life of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, an exile in the heart of his own country since November, 1956. . . . **Paul Jacobs** is our West Coast correspondent.

Michael J. Halberstam is the only doctor of that name at the Mary Fletcher Hospital in Burlington, Vermont. . . . **Marya Mannes, Roland Gelatt, Alfred Kazin,** and **George Steiner** are regular contributors. . . . **Marcus Cunliffe** is the author of *George Washington: Man and Monument* (Little, Brown). . . . **Robert P. Knapp, Jr.,** is a New York attorney. . . . After the Second World War **John Kenneth Galbraith** was director of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey in Germany.

Our cover is by **San Bon Matsu.**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

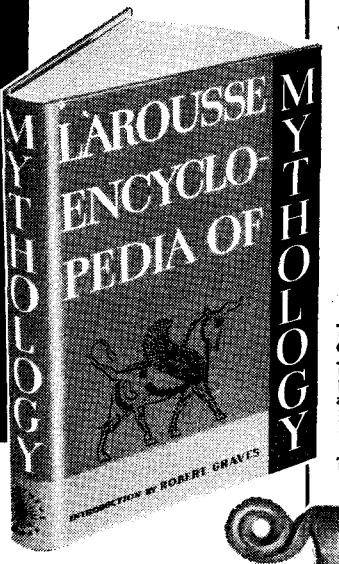
To celebrate our Seventh Anniversary

MARBORO BOOK CLUB invites you to accept this monumental publishing achievement FREE

with your first selection

PUBLISHED at $15

- 868 illustrations, some in full color
- A giant volume of oversize pages 8½" x 11½"
- Yours FREE with membership



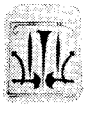
LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY

The only complete encyclopedia of World Mythology from pre-Biblical Egypt and pre-Homeric Greece to the farthest reaches of Africa, the Orient, and the Pacific. **Illustrated with an incomparable assemblage of authentic Painting, Sculpture, Symbols, Idols, Ritual and Sacrificial objects, many rarely seen by western eyes.**

To prepare the LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY, celebrated scholars in every field from Art and Archaeology to Linguistics and Ethnology labored for ten years—amassing from every continent the mythological traditions of hundreds of nations, people, tribes and cultures. The original French-language edition from the famous publishing house of Larousse in Paris is one of the most highly acclaimed reference works in the world today. This is the first edition ever available in English. There is no other book like it.

EVERYTHING YOU'VE EVER WANTED TO KNOW about world mythology can be found here in a few moments. Yet this great "reference" work is designed not only to be consulted for facts but read for pleasure. It offers a reading experience wrought of poetry and bestiality, of sorcery and grandeur and primal awe...a voyage backwards in time to the well-springs of man's literature, theatre, music, theology, architecture, and folklore.

FROM OEDIPUS TO SIEGFRIED. Here are the animal-headed deities of Egypt's religion of death...the planetary divinities of Babylonia...the uncensored family history of the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome (including episodes Bulfinch didn't mention)...the licentious legends and rites of Phoenicia...the great pagan heritage of the Celts and Norse and Slavs, much of it heretofore inaccessible to the general reader...the strange shamanistic cults of the ancient Magyars and Finns.



FROM PERSIA TO POLYNESIA AND PERU. To read on is to be plunged headlong into the exotic mysticism of the East...Zoroaster and the Magi...the cult of Mithra...the mysteries of Mani...the multitudinous gods and castes and epics of Hinduism...the exalting doctrines of the Buddha...the intensely practical mythology of the Chinese ...and the exquisite legends that lie beneath the painting and poetry and drama of Japan. And here, as well, are the great mythic legacies of Negro Africa, the South Pacific, the Indians of North and South America... even the legends and witchcraft of the silent world of the Eskimos.

EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP OFFER. LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY, with an Introduction by Robert Graves, is typical of the kind of book offered regularly to members of the Marboro Book Club at reduced prices. Limited quantities have been set aside as Free Gifts for new members who join now.

It makes good sense to send for *your* free copy today, with your first selection chosen from the list at right.

If not delighted, simply return the books within 2 weeks and your membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation. The Club takes all the risk. You see, this is no ordinary offer—and this is no ordinary book club.

ONLY 3 MORE SELECTIONS NEED BE TAKEN WITHIN ONE YEAR. The Marboro Book Club pools your buying power with that of other discerning readers who share your tastes. By means of low Members' Prices and free Bonus Books, it saves you an average of 50% on the very books you would otherwise purchase at full price.

IMPORTANT TO ACT QUICKLY. Mail coupon today while free copies of LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY are still available.

Choose your first Selection now

and receive free your $15 copy of the LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY

THE LAST TEMPTATION OF CHRIST. By Nikos Kazantzakis. "A searing, soaring, shocking novel."—Time. "An extraordinary work of art."—Saturday Review. List, $6.00. **Members' Price $3.95**

THE ANCIENT GODS. By E. O. James. Masterly study of the deities, cults and rituals of the ancient Mediterranean. 100 illustrations. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $4.50**

THE LAST OF THE JUST. By André Schwarz-Bart. "A monumental masterpiece. Has the epic quality of The Wall, the universality of The Diary of Anne Frank."—Saturday Review. Winner of the Prix Goncourt. List, $4.95. **Members' Price $3.50**

EVERGREEN REVIEW. A Year's Subscription to America's most talked-about literary magazine. List, $5.00 per year. **Members' Price $3.50 per year**

THE WAR: A CONCISE HISTORY, 1939-1945. By Louis L. Snyder. Foreword by Eric Sevareid. "Electrifying reading."—Geoffrey Bruun. 640 pages, magnificently illustrated. List, $7.95. **Members' Price $4.75**

Monumental New Edition! ENCYCLOPEDIA OF JAZZ. By Leonard Feather. Completely up to date. 2,000 biographies, 200 photos. Truly THE definitive guide. List, $15.00. **Members' Price $10.95**

THE GREEK EXPERIENCE. By C. M. Bowra. A brilliant survey of classical culture and history from Homer to the fall of Athens. 64 plates. List, $6.00. **Members' Price $3.95**

HENRY MILLER READER. Edited by Lawrence Durrell. The best of Miller, including writings from banned works such as Tropic of Cancer. List, $6.50 **Members' Price $4.85**

CONCISE HISTORY OF MODERN PAINTING. By Sir Herbert Read. From Cezanne to Pollock. 495 plates, 100 in full color. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $4.95**

LIN YUTANG—THE IMPORTANCE OF UNDERSTANDING. Fabulous compendium of Chinese pleasures, wit, and wisdom through 2500 years. List, $6.00. **Members' Price $3.95**

THE HOUSE OF INTELLECT. Jacques Barzun on the Sacred Cows of American culture. List, $5.00. **Members' Price $3.50**

THE NEW GOLDEN BOUGH. By Sir James G. Frazer. Ed. by Theodor H. Gaster. Completely revised in the light of new anthropological discoveries. List, $8.50. **Members' Price $5.95**

LIFE OF MICHELANGELO. By Charles H. Morgan. Illustrated with more than 100 exceptional plates. List, $6.00 **Members' Price $3.95**

THE STATUS SEEKERS. Vance Packard's eye-opening exploration of class behavior in America. List, $4.50. **Members' Price $3.25**

LIVES OF THE POETS. By Louis Untermeyer. The intimate lives of 133 great poets from Chaucer to Dylan Thomas. List, $7.95. **Members' Price $4.50**

THE PHENOMENON OF MAN. By Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. "One of the great books of the Twentieth Century."—Ashley Montagu. List, $5.00. **Members' Price $3.50**

HUMAN HEREDITY. By Ashley Montagu. What science has learned about human reproduction and human evolution. List, $5.00. **Members' Price $3.50**

DUAL SELECTION—COUNTS AS ONE

FIRMAMENT OF TIME. By Loren Eiseley, author of The Immense Journey. How modern science has changed man's view of himself and his world.

THE LIBERAL HOUR. John Kenneth Galbraith, the author of The Affluent Society explodes still more of the myths that blind America to today's realities.

Combined list price $7.00

Combined Members' Price $4.50

COLLECTED ESSAYS OF ALDOUS HUXLEY. Huxley at his shocking best—on sex, art, psycho-analysis, narcotics. List, $5.00. **Members' Price $3.50**

PHILOSOPHY AND THE MODERN WORLD. By Albert W. Levi. The dilemma of modern man as exemplified in Sartre, Russell, Einstein, Dewey, Freud, Toynbee and Lenin. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $4.50**

THE WORLD OF ROME. By Michael Grant. What it was like to be a citizen of Imperial Rome during its era of unparalleled power. Companion volume to The Greek Experience. List, $6.50. **Members' Price $3.95.**

THE INTELLECTUALS. Wickedly revealing portrait of the smartest people in the world. Contributors include Camus, Eliot, Hook, Niebuhr, others. List, $7.50. **Members' Price $4.50**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT WITH COUPON

MARBORO BOOK CLUB 131 Varick St., N. Y. 13, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a Trial Member of the Marboro Book Club and send me Free: **LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY.** As my first Selection, send me, at the low Members' Price:

_____

(Enter your First Selection here)

If for any reason I decide not to remain a member, I may return these books within 2 weeks and my membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation.

If I elect to remain a member I need choose only 3 more books at reduced prices during the coming year, and will be under no further obligation. Thereafter, every 4 books I accept from the Club will entitle me to a free Bonus Book of my choice.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

☐ Please bill me for my First Selection plus shipping charge.
☐ My check for First Selection is enclosed (Club pays shipping). Same cancellation privileges.

MR-659

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR YOURSELF AND FOR CHRISTMAS GIFT-GIVING

Take as Many Books as

The Mid-Century Book Society

invites you to accept, with membership, *as many* of the books on these pages *as you want* at half their retail price.

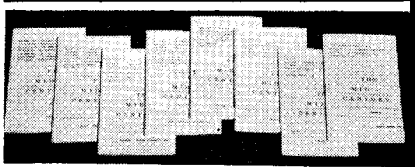
This unprecedented offer is made to demonstrate the *usual* benefits of Mid-Century membership: You can *continue* to save up to 50% or more throughout your membership. And these savings apply to a wide variety of superior books, many of which are available at reduced prices *exclusively* to Mid-Century members.

Mid-Century is America's fastest-growing new book service because of the Society's policy of offering current books at substantial discounts plus a free book *of your own choice* for each four that you purchase after this initial offer.

Mid-Century's distinguished board of editors—W. H. Auden, Jacques Barzun, and Lionel Trilling—selected the titles on these pages from among Mid-Century's most interesting books to introduce you immediately to the advantages and benefits of membership.

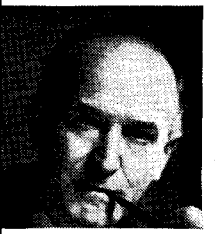
Many of Mid-Century's members have *never before belonged to a book club.* The Society regularly receives letters from members praising the courtesy and convenience of Mid-Century's superior service policy. Because of this extraordinary offer, now is indeed the time to join The Mid-Century Book Society. And we do look forward to welcoming you!

An Additional Reason For Joining Now



We have been told many, many times that the most thoughtful and well-written book reviews now being published in this country are those that appear in *The Mid-Century* magazine, "a gem of American publishing." You will receive this delightful publication each month free. Clip the coupon now to receive as many of the books on these pages as you want at HALF PRICE.

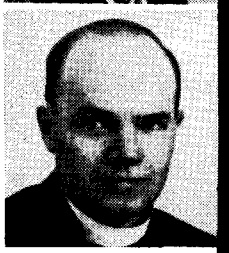
THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA by Franz Kafka and FRANZ KAFKA: A BIOGRAPHY by Max Brod. (Dual Selection). Two remarkable volumes, by and about a giant of twentieth century literature. Retail $9.00. **Half Price Both Books** $4.50.



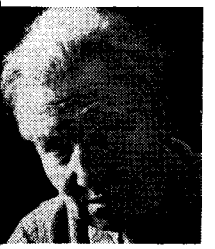
ORIGINS by Eric Partridge. A great new reference book that is indispensable to anyone who reads and writes. A superbly made, 970-page etymological dictionary with 20,000 entries. Retail $16.00. **Half Price** $7.95.

HOMAGE TO CLIO by W. H. Auden. The latest collection of Mr. Auden's verse, in a handsomely designed volume. Retail $3.50. **Half Price** $1.75.

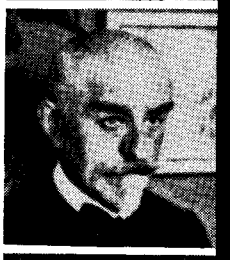
LET US NOW PRAISE FAMOUS MEN by James Agee and Walker Evans. An American classic, a work of true originality. Words and photographs combine to give a dark, fierce, proud, and important image of America. Retail $6.50. **Half Price** $3.25.



MASTERPIECES OF GREEK ART by Raymond V. Schoder, S.J. Just published: One of the greatest art books of all time. The text is superior, the color superb. Retail $12.50. **Half Price** $6.25.

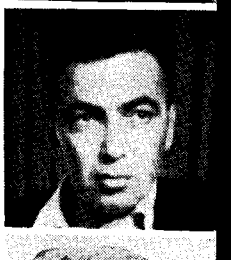


FOOD FOR CENTAURS by Robert Graves. The latest writings of an eccentric but unquestionable genius. A perfect introduction to his work. Retail $4.95. **Half Price** $2.47.

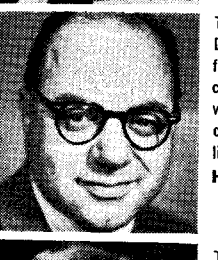


DOWN THERE (Là Bas) by J. K. Huysmans. Blasphemous and decadent, it dwells on a weird world of sexual abnormality, erotic mysticism, incubism, succubism, and bestiality. Retail $5.00. **Half Price** $2.50.

STRANGERS AND BROTHERS by C. P. Snow and LAUGHTER IN THE DARK by Vladimir Nabokov. (Dual Selection). Snow's novel is brilliant high tragedy. Nabokov's is cynical and far more wicked than his Lolita. Retail $8.00. **Half Price Both Books** $4.00.

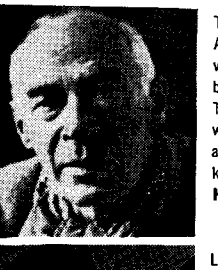


TWENTIETH CENTURY PARODY: AMERICAN AND BRITISH compiled by Burling Lowrey. Among the parodied: Joyce, Conrad, Faulkner, T.S. Eliot, Kerouac. Among the parodists: Beerbohm, Perelman, Thurber. Retail $5.75. **Half Price** $2.87.

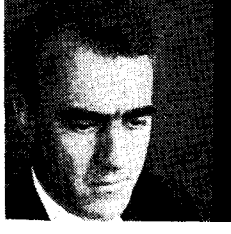


THE END OF IDEOLOGY by Daniel Bell. Original, profound forays into our national character, status politics, work and its discontents, and crime as an American way of life. Retail $7.50. **Half Price** $3.75.

A HERITAGE AND ITS HISTORY and THE PRESENT AND THE PAST (Dual Selection) by Ivy Compton-Burnett. Miss Burnett is one of the great English novelists of this century. Retail $7.25. **Half Price Both Books** $3.62.



THE HENRY MILLER READER. American censorship has prevented many of Henry Miller's books from being published. The moral importance of his writings is acknowledged by all who have had a chance to know them. Retail $6.50. **Half Price** $3.25.



THE SEESAW LOG by William Gibson. This lively book about the theater has a cultural meaning that extends far beyond the stage. It includes Gibson's preferred version of his play Two for the Seesaw. Retail $3.95. **Half Price** $1.97.

LIFE STUDIES by Robert Lowell (National Book Award winner). O TO BE A DRAGON by Marianne Moore. (Dual Selection). The two most distinguished books by established poets published recently. Retail $6.25. **Half Price Both Books** $3.12.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You Want at Half Price

JUSTINE and BALTHAZAR (*Dual Selection*) by Lawrence Durrell. JUSTINE's epigraph *is by Freud*: "*I am accustoming* myself to the idea of regarding every sexual act as a process in which four persons are involved." Retail $7.50. **Half Price Both Books** $3.75.

LOVE AND DEATH IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL by Leslie Fiedler. An entertaining, major study of American literature—wide in range, rich in content—by a controversial, first-rate critic. Retail $8.50. **Half Price** $4.25.

MOUNTOLIVE and CLEA (*Dual Selection*) by Lawrence Durrell. The third and fourth novels of the Alexandria Quartet, an extraordinary investigation of modern love. Retail $7.90. **Half Price Both Books** $3.95.

OSCAR WILDE by Frank Harris. *Now available for the first* time in 31 years, this book was described by H. L. Mencken as "the best biography done by an American." Remarkable candor, delightful reading. Retail $7.00. **Half Price** $3.50.

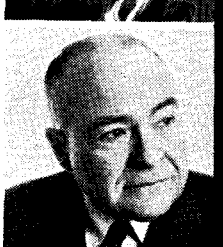
THE COMPLETE WORKS OF NATHANAEL WEST. Four brilliant, original novels: The Day of the Locust, Miss Lonelyhearts, The Dream Life of Balso Snell, A Cool Million. Retail $5.00. **Half Price** $2.50.

THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE by Oskar Morgenstern. The most perceptive study of the dangers now facing the United States. Retail $3.95. **Half Price** $1.97.

THE MISANTHROPE by Molière. The best known drama in the French language has at last been perfectly rendered in English in an astonishing *example of the translator's* art. Retail $5.00. **Half Price** $2.50.

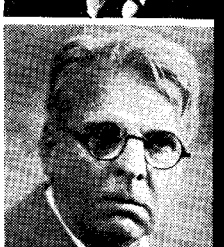
BRAZILIAN ADVENTURE by Peter Fleming. If Max Beerbohm had been sent out to search for Dr. Livingston, the result might have been BRAZILIAN ADVENTURE. An exclusive (and hilarious) Mid-Century offering. Retail $5.00. **Half Price** $2.50.

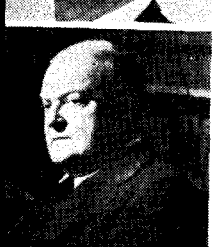
THE ARMADA by Garrett Mattingly. The word "masterpiece," so often abused, has been employed with justice and precision for this brilliantly written book. Retail $6.00. ***Half Price*** $3.00.



LIFE AGAINST DEATH by Norman O. Brown. Far-ranging, thorough-going, extreme, and shocking, Life Against Death is the best interpretation of Freud. *One of the most* interesting and valuable works of our time. Retail $6.50. **Half Price** $3.25.

MYTHOLOGIES by W. B. Yeats. *Tales of the uncanny* and the supernatural, the gathering of more than 60 stories from seven books written by the most highly regarded poet of his time. Retail $5.00. **Half Price** $2.50.





THE SHOCK OF RECOGNITION edited by Edmund Wilson. This now famous work presents the opinions of the great American writers about *each other. Original essays,* memoirs, diaries, and letters. Retail $6.50. **Half Price** $3.25.

THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS by Kenneth Grahame. A superb children's classic now available in a beautiful library edition. Retail $5.00. **Half Price** $2.50.

AGEE ON FILM. Pulitzer Prize-winning James Agee, author of A Death in the Family, was the best movie critic this *country ever had. Book is* amply illustrated with memorable pictures. Retail $6.50. **Half Price** $3.25.

Additional Book Free

After this introductory offer, for each four books you buy at the reduced member's price, you will receive a free book of your own choice as a bonus.

You Need Send No Money Now

The Mid-Century Book Society

115 East 31st Street, New York 16, New York

To begin my membership in The Mid-Century Book Society, *please send me the books checked* below and bill me at *only one-half the retail price.* After this introductory offer, I need choose only four more selections at reduced prices during the coming year, and will be under no further obligation. For every four books that I purchase at the reduced member's price, I may choose a fifth selection free. I will also receive a free subscription to *The Mid-Century* magazine.

- ☐ The Great Wall of China *and* Franz Kafka: A Biography
- ☐ Homage to Clio
- ☐ Masterpieces of Greek Art
- ☐ Down There
- ☐ Twentieth Century Parody
- ☐ A Heritage and Its History *and* The Present and the Past
- ☐ The Seesaw Log
- ☐ Origins
- ☐ Let Us Now Praise Famous Men
- ☐ Food for Centaurs
- ☐ Strangers and Brothers *and* Laughter in the Dark
- ☐ The End of Ideology
- ☐ The Henry Miller Reader
- ☐ Life Studies *and* O To Be a Dragon
- ☐ Justine *and* Balthazar
- ☐ Mountolive *and* Clea
- ☐ The Complete Works of Nathanael West
- ☐ The Misanthrope
- ☐ The Armada
- ☐ Mythologies
- ☐ The Wind in the Willows
- ☐ Love and Death in the American Novel
- ☐ Oscar Wilde
- ☐ The Question of National Defense
- ☐ Brazilian Adventure
- ☐ Life Against Death
- ☐ The Shock of Recognition
- ☐ Agee on Film

Name_____

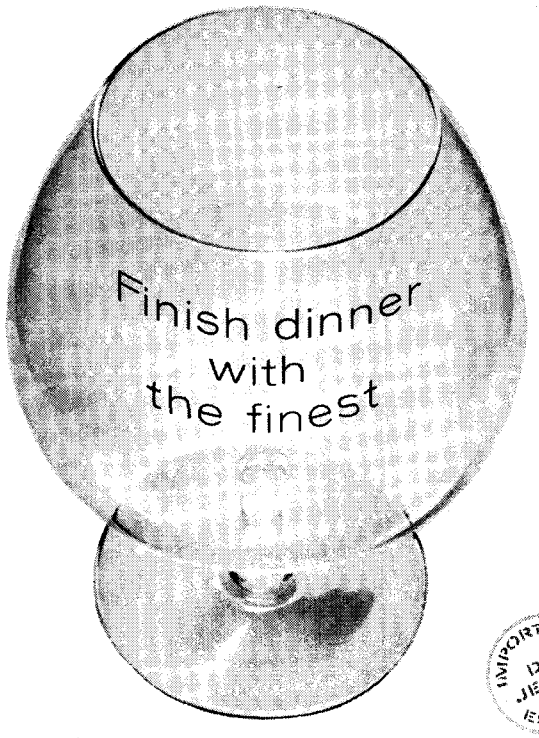
Street Address_____

City_____ Zone___ State_____

☐ To save the shipping expense, I am enclosing my check for the books I want at half price. (New York City residents please add 3% sales tax.)

R-13

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Favor yourself with **Fundador** the classic brandy from Spain. Mellow, rich in flavor, full-bodied. Yet incomparably smooth. For two centuries, the world's most favored Spanish brandy. Pedro Domecq Spanish Brandies, 86 proof. Imported by Canada Dry Corporation, New York.

"Perhaps the most remarkable novel to come out of Russia since the Revolution."

—*Time Magazine*

THE ***Trial Begins***

By ABRAM TERTZ

- "The surprise novel of the year . . . it packs explosive force." —CHARLES POORE, *N. Y. Times*
- "It is difficult to imagine a tale more calculated to outrage the guardians of Soviet orthodoxy."—MERLE FAINSOD, Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review*
- "The most interesting piece of writing by a Soviet citizen to reach the West in many years . . . for the average American it will probably be the most enjoyable." — HARRY SCHWARTZ, *N.Y.Times Book Review*
- "A flash of lightning no less illuminating in its way than *Doctor Zhivago.*" —*Manchester Guardian Weekly*

$2.95, now at your bookstore
PANTHEON

CORRESPONDENCE

OKINAWA

To the Editor: I have just finished reading Denis Warner's "Our Fire Brigade on Okinawa," in the October 13 *Reporter*. While I agree with the article in general, there is one point on which I have to disagree. I was on Okinawa for a year (1957-1958), and though I haven't been back since, I have met some other Marine officers who have been there on duty, and they say that the situation hasn't changed much. In my opinion, the "fire brigade" is a sham. The Third Marine Division, billed as a strategic force in the Far East, is pathetically under strength. There are only two infantry regiments in the division instead of three, and while I was there, no line unit stood at more than fifty per cent strength. As for equipment, the Marine-coined phrase "Nothing is too good for the troops, and nothing is just what they get" just about covers it. For a year, as commander of a mortar platoon I was given seventy-five rounds of live ammunition to train my men. At one time, the platoon sergeant was the only man in the unit who had ever seen a live mortar round.

The situation was so bad that I went to Washington to see my congressman at the end of my tour of duty. He told me that the Armed Forces Committee had reported to him that they were doing what they could about Okinawa, but it was a long way away, and the Marine Corps just didn't have the money to spend on more ammunition and equipment for training.

If I am wrong, and the situation has changed in the past two years, I certainly would like to know about it. If not, I think we had better stop pounding our chests about an outpost which faces strong possibilities of being overrun if we get into another war, even of the "brushfire" type.

I can't help remembering what everyone thought of Singapore before the Second World War, and how surprised and shocked they were when it fell in a matter of weeks. The same thing could happen to our "keystone in the Pacific."

BARRY BINGHAM, JR.
New York

A MOST IMPORTANT PRODUCT

To the Editor: Reading the article by Paul Jacobs, "The Showdown at G.E.," in the October 27 *Reporter*, one gets a feeling that Mr. Jacobs is vaguely supporting James Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers but groping for something to say in his favor or against G.E.

Mr. Carey is a very ambitious but frustrated man. His "I owe G.E. a strike" statement and other irresponsibilities have offended many people inside organized labor and out who genuinely support the principle of strong

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROST

DICKINSON

WILSON

JOYCE

CARROLL

BAROJA

THOMAS

DARWIN

DURRELL

PROUST

SARTON

STEIN

YEATS

BECKETT

BAUDELAIRE

CUMMINGS

TROTSKY

FREUD

ELIOT

SCHOPENHAUER

HOPKINS

The Readers' Subscription invites you to choose any three of these literary treasures at only $1 each

An introductory offer to new members — beautiful permanent editions of the works of the world's great writers, at prices lower than quality paperbacks

JAMES JOYCE. *By* **Richard Ellmann.** The 1960 National Book Award winner for biography. "Massive, completely detached and objective, yet loving." *Stephen Spender.* 842 pages.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $12.50

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN SLANG. *Ed. by* **Wentworth** and **Flexner.** Over 20,000 listings, nearly 700 double-columned pages.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

LAWRENCE DURRELL: THE BLACK BOOK. First time in America—his celebrated comic novel of sex.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $4.95

GEORGE SARTON'S second volume of **A HISTORY OF SCIENCE.** The last 3 centuries B.C.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $11.00

THE ANNOTATED ALICE. *By* **Martin Gardner.** *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass,* with all the Tenniel art and delightfully erudite marginal commentary by Gardner.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $10.00

T. S. ELIOT: COMPLETE POEMS AND PLAYS.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.00

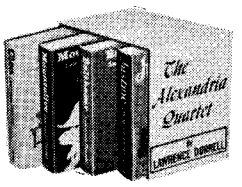
MARCEL PROUST: ON ART AND LITERATURE.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.00

PIO BAROJA: THE RESTLESSNESS OF SHANTI ANDIA. A novella and short stories by the Spanish master who was mentor to Hemingway.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.50

LEON TROTSKY: HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. *Translated by* **Max Eastman.**
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $12.50

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF CHARLES DARWIN. Two volumes, boxed, edited by his son Francis.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $10.00
(Counts as one Selection; $1.00 for the set.)

SCHOPENHAUER: The World as Will and Representation. Two volumes, boxed.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $17.50
(Each volume $1.00; available only as a set.)



LAWRENCE DURRELL: ALEXANDRIA QUARTET. *Justine, Balthazar, Mountolive, Clea.* Four volumes, boxed. "One of the most important works of our time." *The New York Times.* "A formidable, glittering achievement." *The Times of London.*
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $15.40
(Counts as one Selection; $1.00 for the set.)

CHARLES BAUDELAIRE: FLOWERS OF EVIL.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.00

DYLAN THOMAS: COLLECTED POEMS.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $3.75

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HENRY JAMES. *Edited by* **F. W. Dupee.**
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

COLLECTED POEMS OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS. Second Edition, with his own final revisions.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.00

ROBERT FROST READS HIS POETRY. Twelve-inch LP record.
LIST PRICE $5.95

D. H. LAWRENCE: LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER. Unexpurgated hardcover edition.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.00

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER'S *NEW* GOLDEN BOUGH. One-volume abridgment, *ed. by* **Theodor H. Gaster.**
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $8.50

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. *By* **C. S. Lewis.** Sidney, Spenser, Hooker and others.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.00

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE EARLY 18th CENTURY. *By* **Bonamy Dobree.** Swift, Defoe, Pope, Addison and Steele and others.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $10.00

E. E. CUMMINGS' POEMS. 598 poems written between 1923 and 1954.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.75

EDMUND WILSON: MEMOIRS OF HECATE COUNTY. Banned for 12 years—at last available.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.00

EXISTENCE. *Ed. by* **Rollo May, Ernest Angel, Henri Ellenberger.** Existential psychoanalysis—its origins and methods.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

WITCHCRAFT IN OLD AND NEW ENGLAND, *by* **George Lyman Kittredge.**
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $8.00

COMPLETE POEMS OF EMILY DICKINSON. *Edited by* **T. H. Johnson.** First one-volume edition.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $10.00

GERTRUDE STEIN READS HER WORKS. Twelve-inch LP record.
LIST PRICE $5.95

SIGMUND FREUD: INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS. First complete English translation.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

PREFACES TO SHAKESPEARE, *by* **Harley Granville-Barker.** Two volumes by the great director.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $12.00
(Each volume $1.00; available only as a set.)

POETRY OF GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. *Read by* **Cyril Cusack.** twelve-inch LP record.
LIST PRICE $5.95

FINNEGANS WAKE. *By* **James Joyce.**
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $7.50

FRANCESCO DE SANCTIS: HISTORY OF ITALIAN LITERATURE. *Introduction by* **Benedetto Croce.** Two volumes.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $12.50
(Counts as one Selection; $1.00 for the set.)

SAMUEL BECKETT: THREE NOVELS. *Molloy, Malone Dies* and *The Unnamable.*
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $6.50

KIERKEGAARD: CONCLUDING UNSCIENTIFIC POSTSCRIPT. The first English translation.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $8.50

CALL IT SLEEP. *By* **Henry Roth.** Vivid 1935 novel of the Lower East Side, long neglected and only now back in print.
PUBLISHER'S PRICE $5.95

FOR MORE THAN A DECADE, The Readers' Subscription has set before readers of discriminating tastes the works of the world's great writers. Shown above are 35 typical Selections—books and recordings that represent some of the rarest treasures of our literary heritage. Lawrence Durrell's contemporary masterpiece, *Alexandria Quartet;* Richard Ellmann's towering biography, *James Joyce;* the Nobel Prize-winning poetry and prose of T. S. Eliot; the writings of Yeats, Proust, Darwin, Freud, Schopenhauer, Frazer, Robert Frost, Edmund Wilson — by joining now you may choose any three of these at only $1 each. As a member, you also receive a free subscription to the distinguished magazine, *The Griffin,* each month featuring articles by such critics as Alfred Kazin, Mark Van Doren, Dwight Macdonald, Arnold Toynbee, Horace Gregory, C. P. Snow, Northrop Frye, Kenneth Rexroth, Shirley Jackson, and F. W. Dupee. *To start membership now, use coupon alongside.*

The Readers' Subscription, 59 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

Up to $40.40 worth of books for only $3

The Readers' Subscription Dept. R-81
59 FOURTH AVE., NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member, open my free subscription to *The Griffin,* and send me at once the three Selections indicated below, for which you will bill me only $3.00 (plus postage). I agree to purchase four more Selections at reduced Member's Prices during the coming year from the more than 75 available. I will receive a free bonus book of my own choosing after every fourth Selection.

SELECTIONS_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A distinguished Protestant looks at Catholicism and an equally renowned Catholic examines Protestantism —in a new book that Will Herberg has called "a major event in American religious life."

An American Dialogue

by Robert McAfee Brown
Union Theological Seminary
&
Gustave Weigel, S. J.
Woodstock College
$2.95 at all booksellers
DOUBLEDAY

IT'S **BETTER THAN WORKING** SAYS

Patrick Skene Catling

in this lighthearted account of his globe-trotting career with the Baltimore Sun. "Doing the town" with Jane Russell . . . stirring up censors in explosive Macao . . . marching with triumphant Israelis into the Gaza Strip . . . it's all in this rousing story of one reporter's adventures "on the job."

$3.95 at your bookstore

The Macmillan Company
60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

labor unions as essential to a healthy republic. Any intelligent businessman would rather deal with a strong, responsible union than a weak, irresponsible one. Mr. Jacobs's allusion to the important part the once Communist-dominated United Electrical Workers played in weakening Mr. Carey's IUE strike is more an illusion.

G.E. has one of the most effective employee communications programs in the United States. It has won much employee loyalty and trust, and the management is committed to the principle of enlightened self-interest that some unions long have urged upon U.S. business and industry.

FRED H. KING
Phoenix, Arizona

THE QUADRENNIAL PASSION

To the Editor: *The Reporter* has stood out as one of the most thought-provoking and stimulating periodicals in America today. It is regrettable though that your coverage of the Presidential campaign has not reached the standards I had expected. Every individual and every combination of individuals has the right to speak or write their opinions, yet I had anticipated *The Reporter* would not settle to the level of a pure partisan organ. I can only hope the succeeding months after the election will bring a renewal of writing and analysis not bound by political limitations.

RONALD MILLER
Woodbury, New Jersey

To the Editor: In *The Reporter's* well-written pages on what's wrong with the world and why things will probably get worse I find occasional flashes of sustaining humor, of which one of the best was the recent statement that *The Reporter* is not a partisan magazine.

E. F. COOK
Moscow, Idaho

(*As we have stated in the past,* The Reporter *is always objective—at least to the best of our ability—but when there is a choice to be made, we make it.*)

MAN AND MACHINE

To the Editor: Did the editors publish the R. C. Phelan story ("Something Invented Me," *The Reporter,* October 13) because they got the point or because they didn't? The author's failure to specify any source for the information that goes into the selection of sequences from the randomizer led me to the humorless conclusion that he lacks that familiarity with the subject which all beginners' rulebooks recommend.

ALAN DOWNES
Seattle

To the Editor: In a recent issue, you published a short story by R. C. Phelan, entitled "Something Invented Me." In this story, you will recall, a character appears by the name of David R. Sere, described as a mathematician employed by I.B.M., and "hardly human at all."

As the wife of a mathematician by the name of David Sayre, employed by I.B.M., I am in a position to testify to the influence of *The Reporter* and the very large number of people who have read Mr. Phelan's story with interest. I can do this because so many of them have called me or written me to ask if the reference in the story was to my husband. As doubtless there are many people who are similarly confused who have *not* asked me the question directly, I should like space in which to state firmly that Mr. Phelan's David R. Sere bears no resemblance whatever to my husband beyond the coincidental fact of profession, employment, and somewhat similar name. Mr. Phelan clearly knows a very different sort of mathematician from the variety with which I am acquainted, and certainly was not describing in any way at all the mathematician to whom I am married. Is this absolutely clear?

ANNE SAYRE
(Mrs. David Sayre)
Brooklyn, New York

A HAND TO EACH

To the Editor: The September 29, 1960, *Reporter* carries a highly significant article, "For Subsidies That Make Sense," by Longstreth Wright.

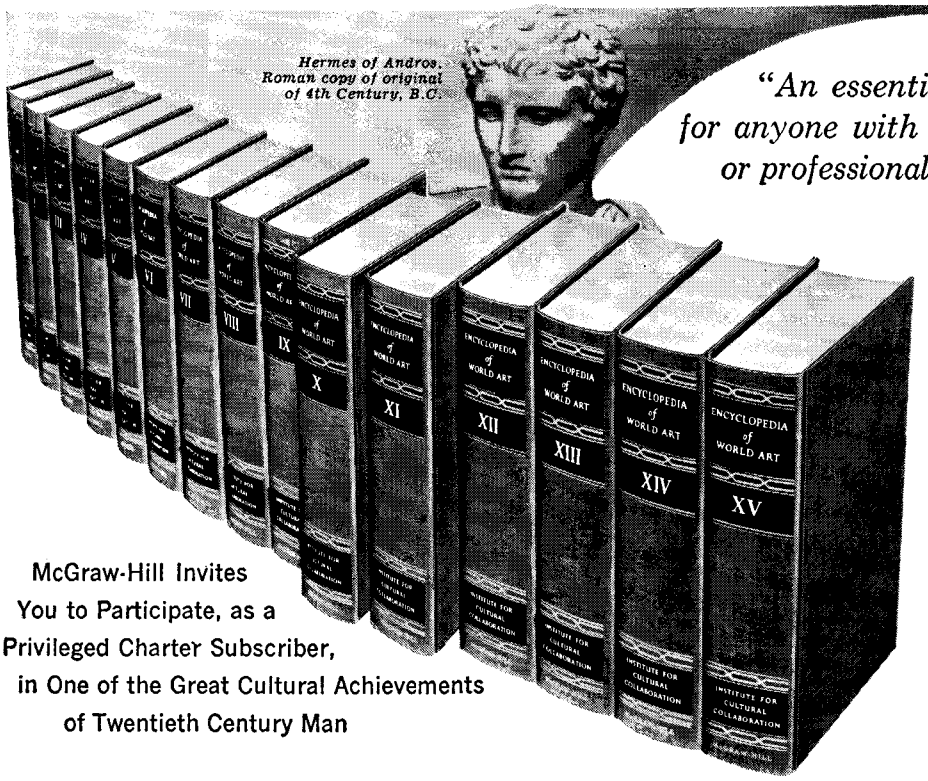
My knowledge of public pronouncements by the candidates is incomplete, but I have neither read nor heard any comments by either on the point of this outstanding article, which indicates that most current talk of aid to businessmen, employees, and others is backward-looking—in terms of an older economic society rather than in terms of the national and international future.

In my oystering business, tested by the competition of Japanese imports, I have for years held—not least in letters to members of Congress—that I am against high tariffs and very restrictive quotas and favor gradually declining protection to persons in my business, so that, while sudden disaster will be averted, steady adjustment to competition by means of greater efficiency and imagination will be necessary and transfer to other types of activity will be made if the competition cannot be met by the end of the trial period.

My reasoning is hard for me to live with, but it suits our international age. One large oystering firm in this area has guided a major company in Japan in the construction of the finest plant of its kind in the world, at Hiroshima (suitable place for restorative co-operation!), and has secured the contract for world-wide sale of its entire output. That is economic self-interest and forward-looking statesmanship at work in the building of international relations at the foundations, and it also will probably keep the participating American concern in a position to maintain the operations and the sales of its long-standing local enterprise here.

DR. ELDON GRIFFIN
Bellevue, Washington

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"An essential possession for anyone with a serious personal or professional interest in art"

"The Encyclopedia of World Art is a work to be explored, studied and enjoyed...The dazzling array of color plates is more than a supplement to its text; it is an essential part of the work, serving as a veritable storehouse, a unique treasury of artistic objects and artifacts, many of which have never been reproduced before...These plates bring together a stunning collection of images recording man's artistic activity during the past 200 centuries."

Harvey Einbinder, *Saturday Review*

"A great landmark in art publication...a monumental undertaking"

Dorothy Adlow, *Christian Science Monitor*

"Packed with Wonders"

John Canaday, *New York Times Book Review*

McGraw-Hill Invites You to Participate, as a Privileged Charter Subscriber, in One of the Great Cultural Achievements of Twentieth Century Man

Encyclopedia of World Art

A Vast Panorama of Man's Great Creative Achievements, Revealed in Thousands of Definitive Articles and Lifelike Reproductions. Every Culture, Every Major Movement and Figure in Art, from A to Z, is Represented.

AN EXTRAORDINARY new publishing project – greater in dimension and significance than any similar project seen in our time–is meeting with wide acclaim. It embraces, in 15 volumes of surpassing beauty, interest and usefulness, all of man's great creative achievements in the visual arts through the centuries.

In hundreds of factual articles and over 7,000 full-page plates (depicting more than 16,000 works of art), the new ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD ART puts into your hands not only our great heritage of paintings, sculpture, architecture–but every art from armor to textiles, costumes to tapestry, ceramics, fashions and furniture, puppets and stained glass, jewelry and silver, modern photography, landscape architecture, industrial design, and much more.

An Unusual "Pay-As-You-Go" Subscription Plan

The ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD ART is the joint enterprise of the Institute for Cultural Collaboration of Rome and the McGraw-Hill Book Company of New York. The Institute is an organization established for the specific purpose of publishing major reference works requiring international planning and contributions.

Supporting the Institute are the Giorgio Cini Foundation of Venice and the famous Florentine publishers, G. C. Sansoni, who are responsible for the printing. McGraw-Hill Book Company is publishing the English language edition in New York, Toronto and London.

Notwithstanding these great resources, it is a physical impossibility to produce all fifteen volumes of this lavish Encyclopedia in one printing. It is therefore planned to issue one volume at a time, approximately three or four yearly, on a subscription basis. This has the advantage, for you, of budgeting your purchase of the set over an extended period of time. You are billed only for each volume as it arrives–and you may pay for it in divided installments, if you wish.

Charter Subscriber's Privileges

By subscribing now, you will be protected against price increases as the 15-volume set progresses toward completion. Further, when all sets are distributed, the Encyclopedia is almost certain to command a premium price.

Also, by subscribing now and thus actively participating in the realization of a truly inspiring international enterprise, you will in effect be taking the role of a twentieth-century patron of the arts.

And you will own what in a few years may well be a most sought-after collector's item. Of the total world printing, fewer than 9,000 sets were allotted to the United States. Already subscriptions have been received for the majority of these. The extraordinary reception by reviewers, collectors, art critics, as well as subscribers, indicates that the original printing may soon be fully reserved. Mail the coupon now for a colorful Prospectus and full details of our Charter Subscriber's offer.

McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York 36, N. Y.

A MONUMENTAL 15-VOLUME GALLERY

containing

16,000 Works of Art

The Bath, by Mary Cassatt, beloved American painter.

2,000 Objects in Full Color and 14,000 Black and White Color Reproductions...Many Subjects Never Before Reproduced Anywhere ... Approximately 13,000 Pages of Text and Pictures...Thousands of Line Drawings, Maps and Plans...1,000 Major Entries, Many Subdivided into Numerous Individual References...200 Historical Articles Covering over 20,000 Years. Over 550 Biographies of Major Artists...Hundreds of Contributors from 45 Countries.

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

To: Encyclopedia of World Arts
McGraw-Hill Book Company
327 West 41 Street, New York 36, N.Y.

Please send me your color Prospectus on the Encyclopedia of World Art, with full details of the set and budget terms for Charter Subscribers. (No obligation, of course. No salesman will call.)

Name.....

Address.....

City & Zone.....

State.....

Occupation.....

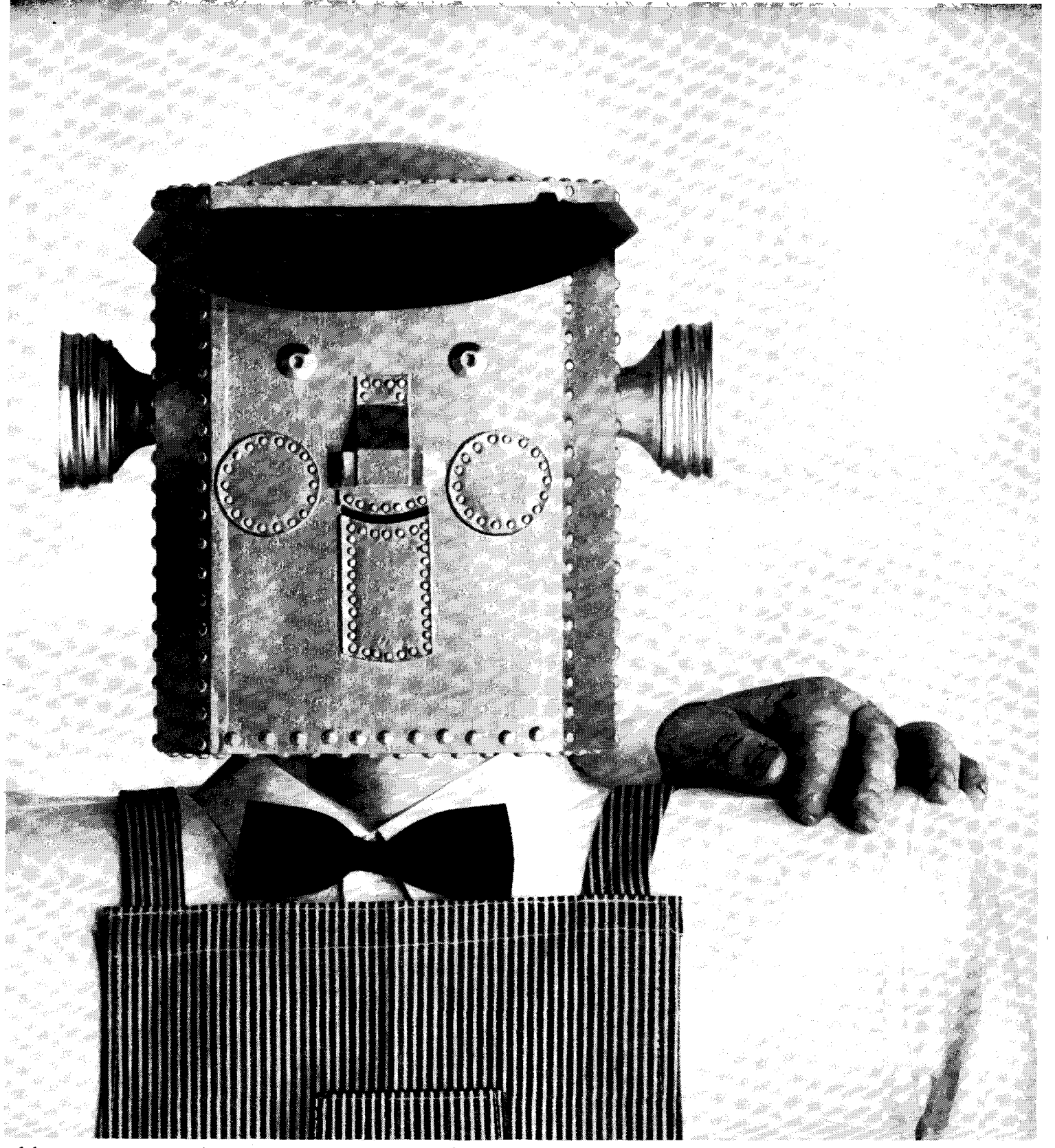
RP-11-24

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I'd like you to meet my new helper—a new ma

Here! The first fully automated U.S. Post Office–in Providence, R. I. Its immediate objective: To speed up handling of mail and parcels *right now!* Its long-range objective: To handle *all* the far bigger mountains of mail anticipated in the not-too-distant future! And—as the pilot project in modern mail handling—it is the forerunner of other such installations for speedier mail delivery all over the U.S., and for greater and more efficient postal service to the public. In the postal past, all operations were carried on by hand. As postal things stand now, much of the more than 65 billion piece mail yearly must be picked up by human hands, its addresses read human eyes, its bulk put somewhere or other on an average of times! No wonder that love-letter or that check was late! It's a big job. And a dull one, by and large. A job that calls, indeed shri for automation. A job that demands the resources, and experien in similar Communications challenges, of ITT, the worldwide c munications and electronics organization. For the Providence

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ıller, canceler, sorter and Parcel Post engineer.

- says a recent *Barron's* article — ITT "was a logical candidate since ɐ-can furnish more of the basic paraphernalia than anyone else." If *we* (ITT) had written the article, we'd have added that we were ılso chosen for this job because of our success with semi-automated ›ost offices in the U.S. and fully automated ones in Europe... be-ɔause fully automated delivery is basically a challenge in over-all Communications — not just isolated mechanization. And Communi-ɔations (via telephone or cable or letter or interstellar satellite) is ITT's business. ITT is 7,200 idea-exchangers exchanging ideas in 24 countries — a total of 101 plants and 130,000 employees. Happy thought: Just think of our friend up there on the left. Soon to be relieved of all that culling and squinting and endless reaching into endless boxes! His ITT friend (on the right) is going to free him for more productive postal work. *International Telephone and Telegraph Corp., 67 Broad St., N.Y. 4, N.Y.*

ITT

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Folio Society

OF LONDON

England's most exclusive book club, The Folio Society, has some extremely interesting new titles in the list that is scheduled for 1961.

The Society, by the way, specialise in handsomely bound, finely printed illustrated editions of the world's greatest books and fascinating byways of history, and their productions are consistently selected for exhibitions of the best international book design.

Forthcoming publications

Coming in 1961 are a new translation of the sonnets of the great master Michelangelo, a contemporary account of the Spanish settlement of New Granada, an edition of Sherman's memoir of the Atlanta campaign, and Balzac's riotous *Droll Stories*. And these are only a few! Other books you can choose include Buffum's eye-witness story of the California Gold Rush, a contemporary account of the French Revolution, and a Burmese Life of the Buddha.

Write us in London

These magnificent editions are available solely to members, and cost an average of only $3. There is no subscription. On enrolment, too, you receive FREE a superbly illustrated book of Degas ballet dancers. If you would like us to send you, entirely without obligation, full details of our 1961 programme, just fill in and mail us the coupon below.

To: The Folio Society,
6 Stratford Place, London, W.1, England.

Please send me, without obligation, the full illustrated prospectus of your 1961 programme.
RA.1

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

City..... Zone.....State.....

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Transition

Already the new aura of a new régime can be detected amid the sweaty activities around that cluster of Kennedy cottages in Hyannis Port and the paternal manse at Palm Beach. Overheard fragments of long-distance telephone calls convey the spirit of these young men, brilliant, dedicated, and inexhaustible, who will be taking over. No, Mr. Sorensen cannot be reached at the moment. He is, it seems, engaged in touch football on the beach. Even the prospective change of White House sports from the staid game of golf helps to mark the violent transition.

Thanks to the Twentieth Amendment, which moved Inauguration Day from March to January, this transition, like everything else in the ascension of a new President, has become a frantic, nonstop ordeal. Even before the old-fashioned technique of tabulating the ballots has been completed, our President-elect must be deeply engaged in complex new problems of picking up the reins of government. He has, courtesy of the Brookings Institution, an exhaustive study of the bureaucratic burdens that he must be prepared to assume almost immediately. Clark Clifford, his liaison man for such matters, lists one hundred posts that should be filled well before Inauguration Day, another couple of hundred that ought to be filled soon afterward. If Mr. Kennedy were to give himself over full time to picking the best men for the jobs, he would hardly have time enough.

But he cannot give himself over full time. For he must have time to work out the strategies by which, in Richard Neustadt's phrase, he becomes the leader and not the clerk in his office. There must be a strategy for dealing with a new Congress, whose mandate appears more decisive than his and which gets the jump on him by commencing business two weeks before he does. He needs a strategy for the alliances, which stand badly in need of bolstering. (Chancellor Adenauer plans to lead off the procession of heads of government who will shortly be coming to call.) He must have a strategy for dealing with his various publics, including not least the representatives of the press. (Already, at the first press conference, they were prematurely addressing as "Mr. President" this man whom a day or two earlier they were calling "Jack.") Finally, he must give thought to a strategy for dealing with Premier Khrushchev, who has set his own new deadline on Berlin—this time in April.

President Roosevelt could fix a priority among the crises he had to face as he took office, allowing the London Economic Conference to collapse mainly because there were more important things to do at home. But President Kennedy cannot afford to neglect any of his crises. They are all linked together.

Despite this onrush of burdens, we hope that Mr. Kennedy will spend time relaxing in the Florida sun. For we suspect that even someone as stoically self-disciplined as he must be experiencing the cold chills that have been the common fate of Presidents-elect as they contemplate taking over that most inhuman of jobs.

A Senator Speaks His Mind

More than two years ago, in our issue of September 18, 1958, we published an article entitled "When the Executive Fails to Lead," in which the author argued that it was not Congressional intransigence that was preventing the Federal government from advancing new and necessary policies on both the military and the diplomatic fronts, but a lack of vigorous leadership from the President. Now that the author of that article, John F. Kennedy, is about to assume the responsibility of pro-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ULTIMATE DECISION

The President as Commander in Chief

Edited by ERNEST R. MAY

Why does the Constitution say "the President shall be Commander in Chief"? How have our wartime presidents used this great power? What of the present, and the future, in view of the enormous complexity of the President's job as the final decision-maker in war and peace? Seven eminent historians contribute to this timely and important book. Illustrated • $6.00

THE GOLDEN AGE OF AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY

Selected and edited with an introduction and notes by

MARGARET MEAD and RUTH L. BUNZEL

The new volume in the "Golden Age" series. A comprehensive work valuable to both layman and scholar, dealing with the growth of the science of man on the North American continent as told by those who laid the foundations of that science. Some fifty authorities are represented, covering the entire range of American anthropology.

Illustrated • $10.00

IT'S CHEAPER TO DIE

Doctors, Drugs and A.M.A.

By WILLIAM MICHELFELDER

The book that dares to tell the whole truth about organized medicine – skyrocketing costs to the patient, fee-splitting, inadequate health insurance plans, the crisis in the hospitals, the rise in malpractice suits, the fantastic price of drugs. By a veteran, prize-winning medical reporter. $3.95

IN SEARCH OF HUMANITY

The Role of the Enlightenment in Modern History

By ALFRED COBBAN

"A richly informative study . . . Not only good intellectual history; a valuable tract for our time."—*New York Herald Tribune.* "A challenging book that should prove of interest and value to the thoughtful layman conscious of today's political and moral pressures."

—*Saturday Review.* $4.50

MYTH AND MYTHMAKING

Edited with an introduction by HENRY A. MURRAY

A brilliant symposium on the origins and meanings of Myth, its recurrent themes and historical development and the possible nature of a "mythology" to come. The essays are by such distinguished scholars as Joseph Campbell, Clyde Kluckhohn, Harry Levin, Philip Rieff, Mircea Eliade, Northrop Frye and Jerome S. Bruner. $6.00

MASTERS OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE

"The appearance of the handsome and authoritative monographs in the MASTERS OF WORLD ARCHITECTURE series is cause for celebration by all who wish to see the chaotic tawdriness of the present environment transformed into a civilized order and beauty—a *new* order of beauty—that architecture makes possible.

"Never before in this country has such a series as this been published, compact in format and moderately priced, but nevertheless generously illustrated, written with high seriousness and intended not only for the professional architect and student, but also for the public at large."—ALAN TEMKO, *New York Times Book Review*

LOUIS SULLIVAN
by Albert Bush-Brown

WALTER GROPIUS
by James M. Fitch

OSCAR NIEMEYER
by Stamo Papadaki

RICHARD NEUTRA
by Esther McCoy

ERIC MENDELSOHN
by Wolf von Eckardt

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT
by Vincent Scully, Jr.

LE CORBUSIER
by Françoise Choay

PIER LUIGI NERVI
by Ada Louise Huxtable

ANTONIO GAUDÍ
by George R. Collins

LUDWIG MIES VAN DER ROHE
by Arthur Drexler

ALVAR AALTO
by Frederick Gutheim

80 pages of photographs, drawings and plans; also bibliography, chronology and index.
7¼" x 10". Each $4.95

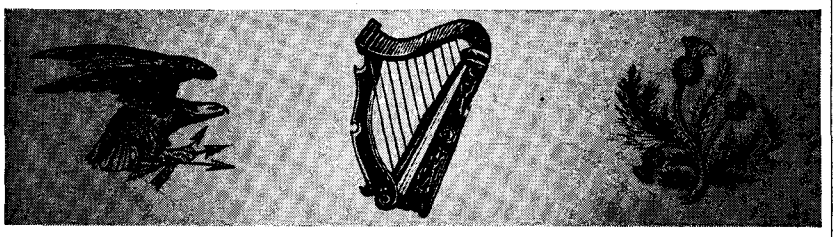
George Braziller, Inc., 215 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(*A Burnished, Emphatic Flavour Guide*)

WHAT DOES IRISH WHISKEY TASTE LIKE?

IT is very hard, we [The Whiskey Distillers of Ireland] find, to describe a flavour except in comparison to other flavours. So here we shall try to show more or less where burnished, emphatic Irish Whiskey falls in the taste spectrum:



AMERICAN WHISKEY	IRISH WHISKEY	SCOTCH WHISKY

Thus, if you know what Scotch and American Whiskeys taste like you can get some idea of what to expect from Irish Whiskey. But what cannot be shown on any chart is how thoroughly you will enjoy the delicious differences of Irish Whiskey now you know what to taste for.

©1960, THE WHISKEY DISTILLERS OF IRELAND, BOX F186r, DUBLIN

"An excellent job of pulling together evidence that the public is being extensively flimflammed with regard to its health."—VANCE PACKARD

THE HEALTH HUCKSTERS

by Ralph Lee Smith

Do you know what many food, drug, and cosmetic advertisers are doing to your health and pocketbook?

Do you know why government agencies are almost powerless to protect you from false and misleading advertising claims?

In a documented exposé that names products and companies, that gathers together the FACTS, Ralph Smith has written a book that will probably shock you and most certainly enlighten you. $3.95

THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY, New York 16

viding Executive leadership, there is a special significance in the views and suggestions that were set forth in these pages two years ago by the junior Senator from Massachusetts, and we are proud to reprint the following excerpts from that article:

"Both the Constitution and practical experience demonstrate that initiative in foreign affairs must come from the Executive branch. When the Executive fails to lead, it leaves a vacuum that the Legislative branch is ill equipped to fill. Congress can offer suggestions, support, and money, but it can usually provide only spasmodic and fragmentary leadership in foreign affairs . . . .

"As a nation we have shown a considerable capacity to deter Communist *military* strength. Yet we have only begun to develop policies that constructively meet its challenge as an economic system and ideological attraction. We have failed, too, to anticipate major and convulsive crises and to develop courses of action to meet protracted competition with the Soviet Union, on the political and economic level, before a crisis closes in.

"It has become a fashionable cliché—especially in the State Department—to suggest that Congress constitutes the major block against the development of an imaginative foreign policy. But the events of the last session of Congress suggest rather that it is the intractable and unresolved differences within the Executive branch—and *its* failure of nerve—that inhibit decisive action . . . . there are senators in both parties willing to respond to an energetic call for a fresh initiative at this crucial moment in our history . . . . The Senate and especially the Foreign Relations Committee have been willing to move ahead by creating the Development Loan Fund and passing the Indian resolution, and they have shown a willingness to bring the Battle Act up to date. The Senate Preparedness subcommittee has persistently questioned the basic assumptions of our military policies. And in a whole series of speeches, Senators Fulbright, Mansfield, Humphrey, and others have tried—with specific recommendations—to break through the overcast of illusion and complacency in both political and economic policy . . . .

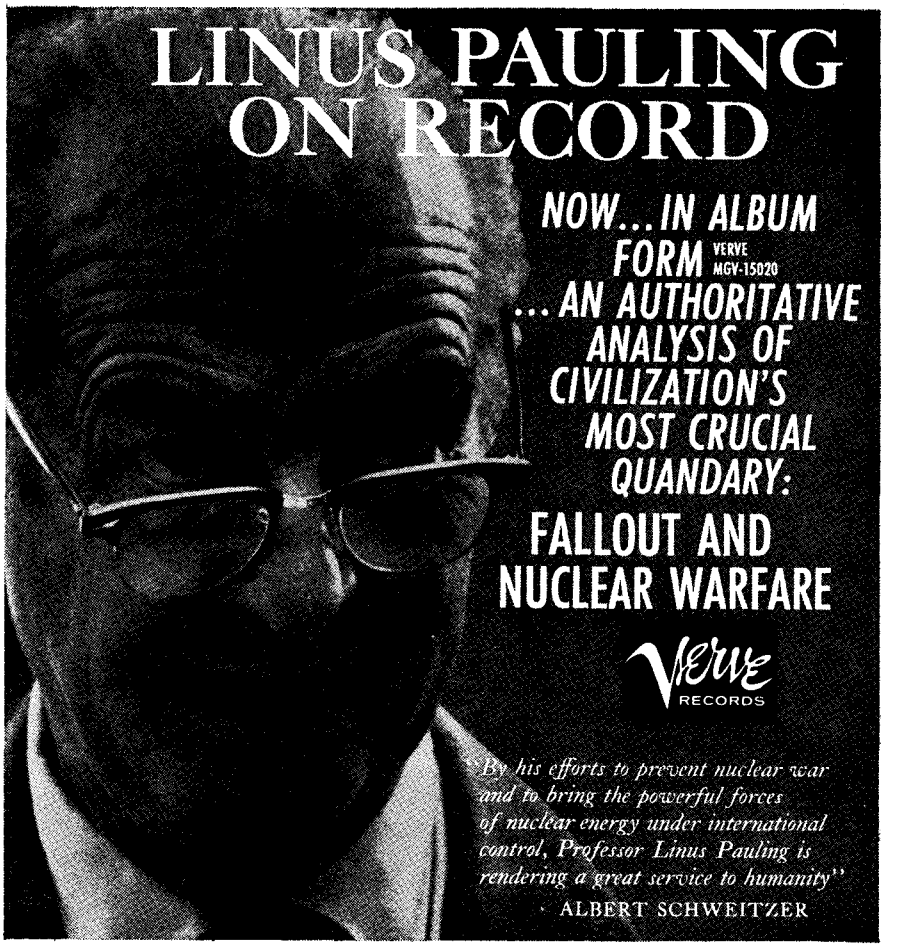
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I recently spoke on the Senate floor about the segment which has to do with closing the military 'gap.' The most pressing technological problem, of course, is the missile lag between the United States and the Soviet Union, which seems certain to continue to grow during the next five years. But we must not overlook the other instruments of our military power, including our capacity to wage limited war and to airlift troops to trouble spots immediately. Both our ability to maintain a balanced ratio of nuclear deterrence and our ability to defy the non-nuclear threat of the Soviet Union and China, especially in the years of 1960-1964, must be vigilantly analyzed and corrected . . . .

"OBVIOUSLY it is our first responsibility to render any kind of war, major or minor, unrewarding to Soviet leadership. This goal requires the maintenance and protection of our nuclear retaliatory capacities. It also makes it essential that we build up and maintain forces capable of conducting limited war. It is finally a matter of demonstrating our determination to defy any threats of blackmail such as those which were applied in the Suez crisis and whose success obviously impressed the Soviet leaders.

"But even such an effort—if we are capable of it—does little to guarantee our safety and our influence abroad if we do not recognize the role we must play in the economic revolution that is sweeping through Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. In all these regions we must do everything we can to increase the likelihood that nationalist ambitions will be directed predominantly toward the work of domestic modernization—because this in turn will increase the possibilities of establishing a constructive association between the industrialized and the underdeveloped areas of the world. Such a policy does not require that we endorse every claim of local or regional nationalism. And we must certainly understand that no policy can fully contain and channel the powerful nationalist forces that are at work throughout the world today . . . .

"There are two essential requirements in any action that we may



UNIQUE CHRISTMAS GIFT

BRITISH MAGAZINE•OF•THE•MONTH

for Family, Friends, Business Associates—*Yourself!*

SPECIAL YULETIDE BONUS

Christmas Number ($1 Value)
All the flavour and tradition of Christmas in England.

13 of Britain's Foremost Magazines

A truly refreshing gift idea to be enjoyed all year 'round. World renown magazines for news, humour, commentary, art, literature, fashion, fiction, travel. A lovely, full colour Merrie England gift card announces your thoughtful generosity.

SPHERE – penetrating eye on world events.
HISTORY TODAY – evaluates the modern world.
SPECTATOR – piercing commentary, sparkling wit.
TATLER – inside story of people and places.
HOME & GARDEN – fashion, *decor and gardening.*
BLACKWOOD'S – brilliant stories, commentary.
ECONOMIST – authoritative, news analyses.
GEOGRAPHICAL – British travel magazine.
QUEEN – sophisticated society, fashion.
COUNTRY LIFE – views of historic England.
PUNCH – humour . . . deft *and delightful.*
LISTENER – famous minds of Britain speaking.

ORDER NOW! ONLY $7.95

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

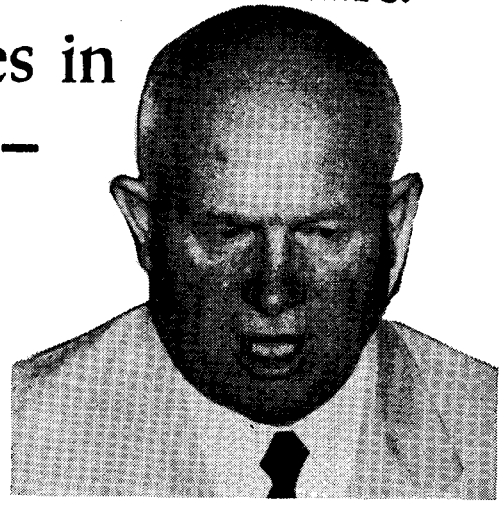
TO: British Magazine-of-the-Month Club, Dept. RM-2, 30 E. 60th St., N.Y. 22, N.Y.
Enclosed is $7.95 for subscription to British Magazine-of-the-Month. Please SEND TO:

Name_____
Address_____
City & State_____
(For Gift Card) My Name_____

For additional subscriptions use separate sheet of paper.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How does this man—and his comrades in the Kremlin—operate?



Why do Russians follow their leaders?

What is "Communist" morality?

The most important study thus far of Russian political psychology

SOVIET LEADERS AND MASTERY OVER MAN

by Hadley Cantril

This chillingly dispassionate analysis of Soviet ideology and its relation to the structure of Soviet society will prove a revelation to most Western readers. It offers a series of brilliant contrasts that reveal the vastness of the chasm between Soviet theory and practice and Western social and political patterns. Mr. Cantril shows how Soviet leaders must continually manipulate their people on a massive scale if they are to accomplish the aims of their regime. The final effect of the book is to make entirely clear how realistic and unemotional the policies of the West will need to be if Soviet imperialism is to be countered.

Indexed. Cloth $4.00. Paper $1.65

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS
New Brunswick, New Jersey

The surprising account of a former President's financial intriguing...

JAMES MONROE: Public Claimant

by Lucius Wilmerding, Jr.

In the first full account of President Monroe's attempts to secure large sums of money from the U. S. Congress, the author tells a lively story that will be as unexpected to many readers as it is entertaining. *Illustrations, notes,* $4.00

take. *First,* ample long-term resources must be made available as an incentive for local politicians to embark on constructive economic courses that give promise of self-sustained economic growth. *Second,* we must bring into effective and responsible partnership our allies in Western Europe and Japan, both as to military policy and as to policy toward the underdeveloped areas . . . . the Development Loan Fund . . . is the most effective instrument we have at the moment for attuning our policies directly to these new imperatives . . . .

"If we make the Development Loan Fund the dominant instrument of our long-range foreign policy . . . then we can make it clear to others that the United States will not be moved to assist other nations simply as a result of the short-term trend or some minor American loss in the cold war.

"The American taxpayer has a right to feel confident that the resources he surrenders for foreign aid are used for constructive purposes, not to fend off a series of short-term political pressures. There have been and will be situations of crisis in which American funds will have to be used for emergency rescues. But the clear and well-understood grounds for the granting of American *loans* should be the ability and will of other nations to use them productively . . . .

"I am convinced that it now lies within our grasp—for the first time since 1914—to build the framework of an international economy within which currencies would again be freely exchangeable, private capital would move with increased freedom and security, tariff barriers would be progressively lowered, and exchange controls could be safely permitted to wither away. The ambitious designs of Cordell Hull and the men at Bretton Woods may have been premature but they were not dreams. Now we have the conditions that did not exist for their fulfillment—if we have the wit, the energy, and the will to exploit them.

"Here lies the answer to those who argue that the Soviet Union can wage the economic war better because of the control it holds over public opinion and natural resources and the inevitable attractions it of-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fers to countries trying suddenly to break through the crust of economic stagnation. Furthermore, it is only by accepting the economic challenge on these high terms that we can hope to solve even our short-term local problems. No tinkering with old tools can substitute for such a massive effort . . . . The creation of a workable international economy depends on progressive efforts to achieve four interrelated conditions: a regular and reliable flow of long-term international credit; a larger centralized reserve of short- and medium-term international capital for financial and trade purposes; lower tariffs, both in the United States and in the European trade area; and, finally, convertible currencies.

"There is obviously no single way by which the United States and its allies can suddenly create such a new economic environment. What is needed is not another temporary cure like the Marshall Plan but a sustained effort. Nor can the United States alone create all the conditions unless West Germany, Great Britain, Canada, and Japan also enlarge their horizons and make proportionate sacrifices . . . . Not only the United States but also its major allies have more and more been acting by force of habit rather than out of a clear awareness of the changing realities of a world in which there will soon be several nuclear powers, in which the Soviet Union possesses growing economic strength, and in which colonialism and simple reliance on military force are both outmoded.

"Such policies as those I have sketched would ordinarily be set in motion by a clear call from the President . . . ."

WHEN THEY MEET

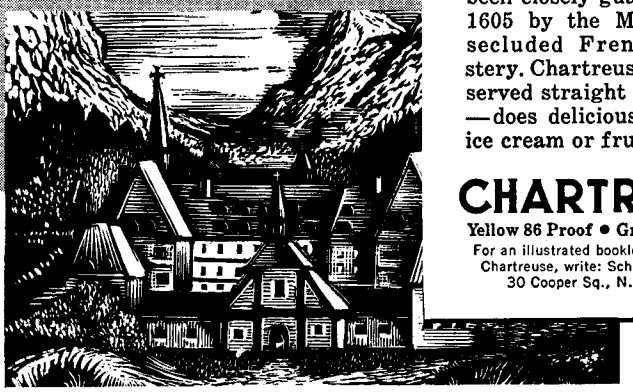
What will the old man
Say to the new?
"Here it is
And I'm glad I'm through."

What will the new man
Say to the old?
"What do you know
That I need be told?"

—SEC

THE SECRET OF

Chartreuse



The only thing known about Chartreuse is that *you'll like it!* The secret recipe of this liqueur has been closely guarded since 1605 by the Monks in a secluded French monastery. Chartreuse is superb served straight or over ice —does delicious things to ice cream or fruit.

CHARTREUSE

Yellow 86 Proof • Green 110 Proof

For an illustrated booklet on the story of Chartreuse, write: Schieffelin & Co., 30 Cooper Sq., N.Y., Dept. BB.

JOYEUX NÖEL for people who read French

Check your choices and mail today. Give your Christmas a Paris Flavor!

For the grown-ups:

☐ PLAISIR DE FRANCE: Special Noel number. In the best tradition of L'ILLUSTRATION. Beautifully illustrated, an inspiration to give, a pleasure to own $3.95

☐ SEMAINIER DE FRANCE: Weekly engagement calendar. An ideal gift, 52 beautiful illustrations of France, all in color $2.95

☐ DICTIONARY OF FRENCH SLANGUAGE: Idiomatic French, argot explained in familiar American. 5,000 entries. Amusing and useful. Bound $4.00

☐ DICTIONNAIRE FRANCAIS-ANGLAIS: 768 pages. Pronunciation, conversation, grammatical synopsis, weights, measures. Bound $2.35

☐ PETIT LAROUSSE 1961: The first entirely new Larousse in 50 years. Special Christmas price $7.50

For the children:

☐ CHANTONS, DANSONS: Delightful French songs, words, and music. "Let's sing—let's dance" $1.95

☐ LES FABLES DE LA FONTAINE: The best of the fables. Lovely illustrations in full color. Large format $2.50

☐ MON PREMIER A B C: Easy words and pictures for children 5 to 8, learning French and learning to read $1.75

Records:

The world's most beloved fairy tales by Perrault. 12" 33 1/3 RPM, L P, complete text with each record

☐ Cinderella, Puss 'n' Boots and other, Reg. $5.95 $4.95

☐ Little Red Riding Hood, Sleeping Beauty, Tom Thumb, etc., Reg. $5.95 $4.95

☐ Both above records $7.95

☐ FRENCH CHILDREN'S SONGS, three 45 R P M records in richly illustrated booklet with text and music, all 3 $4.50

☐ LE PETIT PRINCE (St. Exupery) read by Gerard Philipe, with music. 12" 33 1/3 R P M, Reg. $5.95 $3.95

Clip entire ad and mail to:

THE FRENCH BOOK GUILD

1860 Broadway, New York 23, N.Y.

ENCLOSED IS MY ☐ CHECK
☐ M. O. IN AMOUNT OF $.....

Name: .....

Street Address: .....

City: ..... Zone: .... State: .....

☐ Send gift-wrapped to my friends, with a gift card in my name. (On separate sheet of paper, list friends' names, addresses and the items you wish to send them for Christmas.)

Add 3% Sales Tax in N. Y. C.
Add 10¢ mailing charge per item

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And Now We Go to Work

THE FATEFUL quadrennial competition is over, and we are happy that the competitor in whom we put our confidence has won. It is up to him now to prove that he deserved a better, more decisive victory than the one that has brought him to the Presidency.

For this opportunity Mr. Kennedy owes a staggering debt of gratitude to the Founding Fathers. So do we all. The returns of this election that came so harrowingly close to being inconclusive are not reflected in the electoral vote or in the decisive Democratic majority in both houses of Congress. This is due to the superb job of political engineering, to the complex network of dikes designed to contain and channel the popular will, that is the Constitution of the United States. This masterpiece of eighteenth-century wisdom still stands. It still provides our people with a well-balanced system of multiple nonproportional representation. Can Senator Mansfield just imagine what a more proportional system of representation would do to the politics of our country?

THE Founding Fathers and the voters have given Mr. Kennedy the chance to be a strong President. His party, which in the Congressional elections proved to be generally stronger than he, carried him to the Presidency. Of course, the vigor of his personality, the strength of his character, were contributing factors to his victory. But of his most substantial and engaging qualities the public could have at best a glimpse during that frantic, harassed, and harassing campaign.

Mr. Kennedy, we are confident, has the skill and the determination he needs to establish his leadership over his party. He gave clear evidence of this in Los Angeles when, immediately after his nomination, he asked Lyndon Johnson to join the ticket. He couldn't have made a wiser decision, as the returns have proved. If he follows the same line, he will be able to run the country as the head of a democratic coalition that will include some of the most influential national, and not just sectional, leaders the majority party now has in Congress. Some of these men may join him in his Cabinet, some may remain on the Hill—working in close co-operation with him.

Before the Los Angeles convention we wrote: "There has been much idle talk of late about national purposes. But the troubled souls in search of America's aims forget that the purposes of the nation are even too well known. When at long last they become operative, we will have the closest thing to a coalition government. The Legislative Branch will take a far more active part in the formulation and supervision of policies than the Constitution has ever foreseen. It may turn out to be an emergency government, centered not just in one man but in a group of men. The plight of our nation demands no less."

The plight of our nation also demands of President Kennedy that he resume the tradition of enlisting the services of qualified men from the minority party—a tradition which was established by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations and which President Eisenhower failed to adhere to. It would be idle even to think of a bipartisan coalition government, but there are individual Republicans who could be called to positions of high office for which they are eminently qualified—men like Douglas Dillon and James J. Wadsworth.

It is up to President Kennedy to establish his measure of leadership among the men who will work close to him. He has the legal title to his office; but to acquire the fullness of Presidential power he needs the closest possible co-operation of the most vigorous, dedicated Democratic leaders. The test of his own capacity to govern will be his success in running this coalition and in getting the best out of his associates. As first among these men, he will get the best out of himself.

THIS should be enough of a task for our young President; but it is not even half of what lies ahead for him. He must outgrow his campaign. It was a rather dismal campaign, and the fact that it was better than his opponent's could justify our preference for him up to the election, but doesn't entitle him to any future indulgence. During those weeks, we heard enough about moving ahead, or the notion that to secure freedom around the world nothing is more urgent than to do well here, to meet our obligation by, of course, moving ahead.

The fact is that freedom will start being a little bit more secure when President Kennedy proves to be still concerned but less obsessed with Africa and Asia and Latin America, and starts working toward another coalition—this one in interallied affairs, with men who really count and with whom he must work, men like de Gaulle and Macmillan and Adenauer. Of this coalition too, as President of the United States, he should be the leader. But here again is a leadership he must earn.

WE have confidence in President Kennedy. We believe he can make it. Respectfully, we would like to add: He had better. The nation cannot afford his failure. We wish him luck.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Algeria's Threat to the Alliance

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

AMONG the alarmist rumors that have been floating about Paris for the last few weeks, one of the most disturbing concerns alleged attempts of certain right-wing conspirators to sound out the United States' attitude in case of a new military *coup d'état* in France. Suppose part of the French Army marched on the capital—so runs the hypothetical question—to depose General de Gaulle as president and to set up a government committed to keeping Algeria French at all costs, but advocating closer co-operation with NATO than he favors. Would the American NATO units in Europe help or obstruct the military insurrection?

Though the writer has been unable to find evidence that such a question has actually been submitted by any French group to any American authority, the report is worth mentioning for several reasons. This kind of rumormongering calls attention to one of the most explosive and critical issues about to be bequeathed by the Eisenhower to the Kennedy administration—the reconciliation of our increasingly divergent NATO, North African, and U.N. policies. Even more directly, it underscores the most crucial element in the whole complex equation: the danger that whether through errors of omission or commission, either on our part or on that of the French, the war in Algeria will end up as a civil war in metropolitan France.

This ugly threat has taken definite shape in the past few weeks, and at the beginning of November, as the war in Algeria entered its seventh year—apparently further than ever from solution—it was beginning to look almost imminent. De Gaulle seems to be having more and more difficulty in preserving the national unity that he had saved by his handling of the insurrectionary crisis in Algiers last January. The two furiously opposed factions that have been polarizing French opinion over the issue of the war—"the raging packs of sterile immobilism and of plain surrender," as de Gaulle termed them in his radio address of November 4—seemed ready to fly at each other's throats. The main thing holding them back has appeared to be their common determination to pull down de Gaulle, even if they have to join forces to do it. De Gaulle's radio-TV talk, renewing the classic French royalist and Jacobin tradition of appealing directly to the people over the heads of the barons or the bosses, brought de Gaulle, at the top of his form, into the living rooms of millions of French families to pledge his unflinching resistance to the forces of chaos and to ask for the support of the people. There is good reason to think that the response of the nation to this appeal has been great. De Gaulle's most dangerous adversaries have clearly been thrown off balance once again. The crisis has by no means blown over, however.

Peril on the Right

A half-conscious nostalgia on the part of the Left for the barricades looms large in the revolutionary folklore of Paris and is becoming increasingly evident, but from the viewpoint of national unity the immediate peril comes once again from the plots and agitation of the right-wing military or civilian "activists" who are opposed to any compromise with the forces of Algerian nationalism. Just as before the rightist uprising in Algiers last winter, there is a high-pitched propaganda campaign attacking de Gaulle's formula of an *Algérie algérienne*—and the general himself. The campaign, which mounted toward a crescendo on the eve of de Gaulle's November 4 radio address, is being accompanied by street demonstrations and minor acts of hooliganism—young rightists, some of them shouting "Jews to the crematorium!," tried unsuccessfully to break up a recent peace rally in Paris—and by the usual distribution of arms to "activist" commandos in Algeria.

Several ringleaders of the chief Algiers insurgents, including deputy and student leader Pierre Lagaillarde and Colonel Jean Gardes, the former psychological-warfare chief in Algeria, went on trial before a military tribunal in Paris on November 3. A number of others are active in the present campaign, if only from a distance. They include Joseph Ortiz, once commander of the Algiers "Alcázar," who is now a fugitive in Majorca; the fascist organizer Robert Martel, believed to be operating an underground headquarters somewhere in Algeria; and the northern industrialist Philippe Massey, now based in Switzerland. These men are alleged to have functioned as important field agents of the military conspirators popularly known as the Cagoulards. The customary cabal of retired generals and colonels more or less closely associated with the Cagoule is once again in evidence, though no longer taken very seri-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ously. The Cagoule itself, while undoubtedly still active, is now considered somewhat old hat and has lost much of its prestige to a previously unknown military junta called the Committee of Five. The objective of this new conspiratorial group is reported to be the creation of a purely military régime, a "military democracy" on the Turkish model.

TWO PROMINENT figures who played only a background role last January are now in the forefront of the *Algérie française* campaign. One is Jacques Soustelle, whom de Gaulle forced out of both the Debré government and the governmental party, the U.N.R., because of his sympathies with the Algiers insurgents. Today he is the outstanding leader of the right-wing opposition to de Gaulle's Algerian policies at the overt political level, which includes not only such die-hards as former Premier Georges Bidault and former Defense Minister André Morice, but also moderate leaders of former Premier Antoine Pinay's Independent and Peasant Party, and even some mavericks of the Center-Left, like former Premier Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury and Robert Lacoste, the Socialist former minister-resident in Algeria. Despite these respectable connections, Soustelle makes public statements that sometimes have a distinctly subversive ring; in a recent interview given the Italian newspaper *Il Tempo* he warned that if de Gaulle persisted in his rumored intention of setting up an Algerian government in opposition to the F.L.N.'s "provisional government," the creation of a third "government" for the territory, under the banner of *l'Algérie française,* "would become practically inevitable."

The other new actor on the political stage is General Raoul Salan, the commander-in-chief in Algeria at the time of the pronunciamento of May 13, 1958, that led to the overthrow of the Fourth Republic. At a press conference here last month General Salan made an unmistakable bid for leadership of the various military and "activist" anti-de Gaulle movements, then left on a mysterious trip to Spain. Among the notables present at Salan's conference were General André Zeller, former chief of staff of the French Army, Colonel Jean Thomazo, who "captured" Corsica for the Algiers junta in May, 1958; Georges Bidault; Pierre Poujade, whose semi-fascist movement of disgruntled shopkeepers still has some provincial following; and the ultra-rightist deputy Jean Le Pen.

Apparent backing for Salan—whose own public utterances, while following the *Algérie française* line, have been notably circumspect—has come from a number of high-ranking French officers, some on active duty. "It is not engaging in politics . . . to express the hope that Algeria remain forever French soil," declared General Edmond Jouhaud, the recently resigned chief of staff of the French Air Force, in a speech at Algiers delivered in defiance of a standing ban against political agitation by officers on the inactive list. The military governors of Metz and Lyons have gone further by publicly criticizing the government's Algerian policy.

Psychological Warfare

Any renewal of contact between the French government and the F.L.N., and all third-party attempts to find a basis for such renewal—such as the current effort of several African leaders of the French Community—are viewed with apprehension by the Right here. Some partisans of *l'Algérie française* who retain a kind of vestigial loyalty to de Gaulle have been hoping that the pressures now being exerted on France from the outside—the noisy threats of Chinese and Soviet intervention brandished in Tunis, and the impending vote on the Algerian question in the U.N. Assembly—will push him into total intransigence, thus laying the foundation for a reconciliation between the Gaullists and the right-wing opposition. In organizing—or talking about organizing—subversive conspiracies, these pseudoputschists are merely applying the same kind of curious logic that led some otherwise sensible French intellectuals to sign the anti-war manifesto that has stirred such an uproar. "I don't really believe in encouraging desertion," one of the signers told me, "but you have to sound a bit extreme if you want to wake people up."

A great deal of the astonishingly candid talk that one hears in France these days about plots and conspiracies is undoubtedly exaggerated for psychological-warfare purposes. Some of the exaggerations even come from government supporters who apparently hope thereby to scare both domestic and allied opinion into supporting de Gaulle as a bulwark against chaos. Quite a few of the would-be conspirators are more likely to call for fishing rods than for pontoons when they reach the Rubicon.

"As far as generals are concerned, I don't know one who is capable on his own initiative of launching a *coup d'état,*" a good military source, who has known most of the generals since they were second lieutenants, told me recently, "In their hearts most of them know that *l'Algérie française* is doomed and they don't feel like risking their jobs or their pensions for a lost cause."

According to the same well-qualified source there is no defeatism, however, among the younger officers, from lieutenants to majors, serving in Algeria. Even staunch supporters of the *Algérie française* cause with whom I have talked are sometimes a little frightened by the fanaticism and ruthlessness of these young officers, many of whom profess a kind of national-Communist ideology. But these apprehensions do not seriously inhibit the right-wing politicians and generals from exploiting the very attitudes that worry them.

"It is no longer the army that will have to take the initiative," General Salan told a correspondent of the Paris *Figaro* in Barcelona. "The population will rise up by itself." (He was referring to the violent reaction that he predicted would occur in Algiers if de Gaulle persisted in his plan of setting up an Algerian executive.) "I would not like to seem to be trying to influence the army, but believe me, this time the lieutenants and the captains won't let go." "The temptation is great for the activist elements of the army to launch a putsch," writes Bourgès-Maunoury—a particularly well-qualified observer—in *Le Journal du Parlement,* a right-wing political sheet. "Some politicians say they are ready to help the officers. Even if most of these offers come from shady quarters, if the Fifth Republic should collapse, those who overthrew it would find more serious support. Once the game was won, however,

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

things would be different. It is not those who make revolutions who reap the fruits. Any recourse to violence against the régime would unleash currents that neither Algeria nor France might be able to resist."

One of the worries that Bourgès-Maunoury says haunts him day and night is the possibility that a military uprising against de Gaulle would eventually lead to Communist counter-revolution—a danger which other observers likewise consider even graver than the possibility of a military dictatorship establishing itself permanently in France.

When all the qualifications and counterbalancing factors are weighed, the disturbing reality remains that the "activist" opposition contains some powerful elements that are not satisfied with the minimal right-wing objectives of sabotaging a negotiated peace in Algeria and resisting foreign pressures. They reject de Gaulle's present *Algérie algérienne* policy as completely unrealistic—which in a literal sense it probably is—and consider de Gaulle himself a dangerous obstacle to French victory in Algeria. Their objective is not just to influence or curb de Gaulle, but to remove him from power. Some of the extremists make no bones about the means they are prepared to employ. Several of the tracts that have been circulating in Algiers in the last two months call in particularly inflammatory terms for the assassination of de Gaulle. Blacklists of other "public enemies" marked for D-day liquidation have also been drawn up, though the military Committee of Five is reported to content itself more humanely with a blacklist of 15,000 "defeatists" who will simply be interned in concentration camps when it seizes power.

Fanaticism on the Left

The danger that extremist agitation may so poison the political atmosphere here as to bring about an eventual violent crisis over Algerian policy is quite serious. It is aggravated by the growing defeatism and even fanaticism of the Left—including much of the non-Communist Left—which has developed its own conspiratorial movements to oppose the Algerian war. (The Communists are holding their civil-war brigades in reserve for use at the most favorable moment.) One of several such clandestine networks, motivated to a considerable extent by the traumatic impact on many French consciences of reading about torture and summary executions by the French Army in Algeria (de Gaulle is reliably reported to have called recently for sterner punishment of those guilty of such crimes), is called the French Anti-Colonialist Movement. The exact nature of its activity is not clear, but it is certainly illegal, and its very existence has provided Soustelle with a pretext for publishing charges

that the organization links conscientious objectors with support of F.L.N. terrorism and that it is being financed both by Nasser and by some shady elements in West Germany.

On the eve of the anti-war meeting organized by the increasingly militant students' federation in the Latin Quarter last month, a meeting that ended in a riot, I asked a friend, an idealist of the non-Communist Left who was planning to take part in it, if he did not feel that such demonstrations might provoke dangerous counterdemonstrations by the Right.

"A showdown with the fascists is inevitable sooner or later," he answered. "We might as well get it over with."

De Gaulle's radio talk has noticeably checked the hysterical trend toward peace at almost any price that in recent weeks has been spreading from the Left to the liberal Center and to important Protestant and Catholic religious circles. This doesn't mean that de Gaulle has won over the liberal opposition. Both the Socialists and liberal spokesmen like Hubert Beuve-Méry, the editor of *Le Monde*, continue to criticize de Gaulle for not sweeping aside the obstacles to renewed negotiations with the F.L.N. It is not always clear what they want him to do next, since most of these critics ostensibly agree that de Gaulle is right not to accredit the F.L.N. as the official bargaining agent of the Algerian people. Some of the criticisms appear to reflect a kind of resentment against the president for having deprived the critics of a really clear cut issue. This state of mind plays into the hands of the *Algérie française* extremists, as does some politicians' ill-timed zeal to defend NATO and the cause of European unity against de Gaulle's supposed isolationist tendencies. "We realize that the *Algérie française* theme today has only a limited appeal," a right-wing politician explained with candid cynicism recently. "So we naturally play it down in talking to the non-Communist Left and the Socialists. With the latter and with the Catholics we put the stress on helping to prevent de Gaulle from sabotaging NATO and Europe. With the Radical Socialists and groups like that we also talk up the defense of democratic liberties that the government is trampling on and especially the rights of parliament."

THIS LAST THEME has an almost irresistible appeal to the top men of the defunct Fourth Republic, in or out of parliament, who have been suffering to a greater or lesser degree from technological underemployment or unemployment since the Fifth Republic came into being. The result is a weird anti-de Gaulle bloc stretching from the Communists to the fascists that sometimes displays an astonishing inclination to synchronize its tactics—whenever doing so is apt to weaken or embarrass de Gaulle. The leaders of this omnibus opposition, besides the Communists and the *Algérie française* chiefs already mentioned, are Pierre Mendès-France, Socialist chief Guy Mollet, former Premier Félix Gaillard and several Radicals of his faction, former Interior Minister François Mitterand, conservative M.R.P. leaders like the veteran Robert Schuman—but not the younger Maurice Schumann or former Pre-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mier Pierre Pflimlin—and last but by no means least, former Premier Antoine Pinay, whom some of the activist conspirators would like to use as a respectable figurehead for their plots. Though he didn't mention them by name, de Gaulle in his radio talk heaped scorn on this promiscuous coalition of adversaries—patently incapable of constructing a valid new parliamentary majority—whom he accused of nostalgia for "the games of bygone days."

Where Does America Stand?

From the American point of view it is particularly unfortunate that for tactical reasons the rightist opposition to de Gaulle has chosen to make a major issue of his proposed legislation for an independent French atomic striking force—a program whose only practical result for years to come will be to increase the French government's bargaining power inside NATO. The impression has thereby been created in some French minds that the United States is trying to overthrow de Gaulle because we object to his independent attitude in NATO. Some members of the right-wing opposition go a step further and suggest that if France plays ball in NATO, American opinion will swing around to the support of the extreme French position in Algeria. French army officers with supposed SHAPE or Pentagon contacts are particularly responsible for spreading this false impression, which inevitably tends to generate wild rumors like the one mentioned at the beginning of this article that stir up interallied suspicion. So far Washington has done nothing to discourage or repudiate these damaging reports. Whether some American businessmen or government agents in Europe have done anything positive to justify them cannot be determined. Certain French sources think they have. Despite its rightist and anti-Gaullist slant, the weekly news magazine *Aux Ecoutes,* for example, sharply criticizes the behavior of unnamed American officials in France, "who in their indiscreet and boastful way have been betting too openly on a Sixth Republic."

The French see a glaring discrepancy between our qualified support of de Gaulle's Algerian policy, expressed in numerous official U.S. utterances, and our attitude in the U.N. General Assembly, where it seems to the French that we are making no effort to head off a resolution that will make it harder than ever for General de Gaulle to resume negotiations with the F.L.N. in any form without seeming to yield in the face of humiliating outside pressure. (There is also to be considered the adverse psychological effect on the general himself, who in the past has sometimes reacted to such pressures by adopting positions of extreme intransigence. Some of the scorn which de Gaulle has been heaping on the United Nations in his recent speeches is believed here to be at least partly inspired by his irritation over our supine attitude in the U.N.)

Our failure to make it clear to the F.L.N. and its North African supporters that we will not allow them to "internationalize" the Algerian war, should they either accept military aid from the Communist powers or provoke an operative U.N. intervention, is actually impeding the resumption of direct negotiations between the French and the F.L.N., in the opinion of some French observers who are neither die-hards nor uncritical apologists for de Gaulle. One eminent member of this category, Maurice Schumann, president of the foreign affairs committee of the National Assembly and a leading "European," took such a stand in a recent signed article in *Le Monde.*

"Do you believe," he asked an imaginary American interlocutor, "that the F.L.N. will have any sincere desire to renew contact [with France] until it has become convinced that its hole card—Communist intervention or the threat of it—cannot be played without more risk than benefit?"

The African Mediators

As for the U.N., Schumann seems to believe that if America really wants to strengthen the international organization we will do everything possible to keep it out of Algeria. "Mr. Hammarskjöld has not confided in me," he continued, "but I would be highly surprised if he had any desire to burden himself with a second Congo, a hundred times heavier than the first one."

In French official eyes the need to keep the Algerian conflict out of the U.N., or at least to keep the U.N.'s involvement purely Platonic, is all the greater because of the effort by several outstanding African leaders of the French Community—in particular President Félix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast Republic and President Léopold Senghor of the Senegal—to relaunch the direct talks between the French government and the F.L.N. that broke down at Melun last summer. It has even been suggested here that the African members of the French Community might act as the neutral guarantors of an eventual self-determination plebiscite in Algeria. Though he has so far given no commitments, de Gaulle has been kept informed of the African leaders' plans and has discreetly encouraged them. Well-informed French political circles noted with special satisfaction the arrival in Paris during the first week of November of both Senghor and Houphouet-Boigny, since presumably they would not have undertaken the trip unless they were confident that conditions, at least on the French side, were favorable for the accomplishment of their mediating mission.

EVEN if the African attempt breaks down and de Gaulle goes ahead in the coming months with his scheme for setting up a Moslem but anti-F.L.N. Algerian executive under some Algerian leader like Deputy Ali Mallem, it will not mean that negotiations with the F.L.N. are ruled out for all time. One of the possibilities de Gaulle is said to envisage is eventual direct negotiations for ending the war between the F.L.N. provisional government in Tunis and the projected Algerian executive (which would probably be installed in Blida, near Algiers).

While few sophisticated political observers here believe that an *Algérie algérienne* formula is viable without the co-operation of the F.L.N., some are inclined to think that the formula outlined by de Gaulle in his radio talk is the best—perhaps the only—means of forcing a sincere negotiation on the F.L.N. By using for the first time the words "Algerian Republic" and by pointedly omitting any mention of its for-

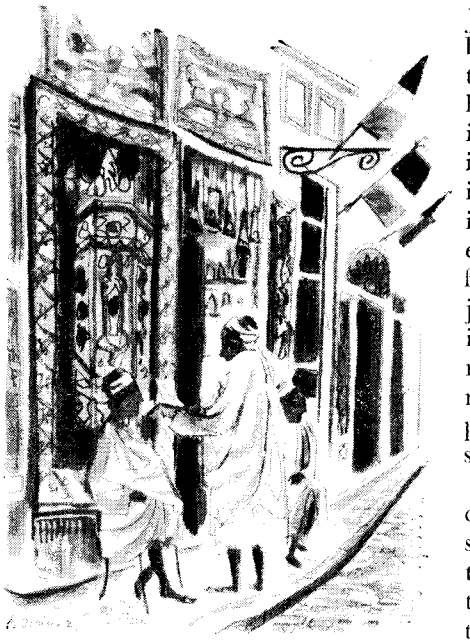
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eign relations as an area subject to French or joint control, de Gaulle took a long step toward recognizing the kind of sovereign Algerian state for which the F.L.N. has been fighting. De Gaulle is gambling on the fact that there will be enough reasonable men in all camps, including the F.L.N. camp, to see its value. In any case his radio talk indicated that he is now clearly thinking in terms of eventual negotiations with the F.L.N. as the key to a solution in Algeria. To those who have suspected him of trying to weasel out of an Algerian plebiscite, de Gaulle made it clear that in his mind France is pledged as a matter of honor to letting the Algerian people decide their fate by a free vote. But he also hinted strongly that a plebiscite might turn out to be only a procedure for ratifying an understanding worked out between France and the various Algerian nationalist factions, including the F.L.N. This is probably realistic and certainly represents a major concession on de Gaulle's part to the left wing in France and to world opinion generally.

Next Move to de Gaulle

Though apparently not yet appreciated on the Left, de Gaulle's Algerian policy seems to have been correctly interpreted by most of the French Right, and a major offensive to block its execution can be expected. The November 4 radio talk was calibrated to the millimeter to put across de Gaulle's message to the nation as a whole without giving the rightists the clear-cut issue they need for launching an insurrection. They are now grimly but uneasily waiting for him to take a concrete step in execution of the program outlined in his talk. The possible steps include unilateral proclamation of a truce (there was an explicit hint of this in the talk), formal reopening of negotiations with the F.L.N., holding a plebiscite in Algeria, setting up the nucleus of a future Algerian government (the Right's greatest fear), or releasing Mohammed Ben Bella and other F.L.N. leaders who have been state prisoners in France since their plane was intercepted en route from Morocco to Tunisia four years ago.

Any of the moves might serve the Right as a pretext for mutiny, insurrection, or revolution. De Gaulle is



perfectly aware of this but seems determined to push ahead with one or more of these steps, perhaps within the next few weeks. He can be counted on—if he is given the chance—to choose his moment and his ground as shrewdly as possible so as to disarm at least part of the rightist opposition, but there was a strong suggestion in his radio talk that he may actually be counting on a fizzled insurrectional attempt by the Right to help him put over the decisive stages of a solution in Algeria. The theory is held in some pro-Gaullist circles that de Gaulle needs the dictatorial powers available to him under Article 16 of the constitution to impose a settlement in Algeria, and these can only be claimed if there is a real threat to the state. This possibility will make the Right think twice before resorting to large-scale violence—the threat of a parliamentary dissolution and new elections also voiced by de Gaulle worries them much less.

THE COMING WEEKS and months in France promise to be critical not only for the settlement of the war in Algeria but for France itself, and therefore for the Atlantic Alliance. Helping to make sure that the passionate French controversy over Algerian policy does not lead to chaos is the most urgent problem facing the new administration in Washington—if it can be held in suspense during the awkward interval until January 20. Though the problem is basically an internal one for France, there is a great deal we can do to help, or at least to avoid aggravating it. The immediate action called for is to prevent the upcoming debate in the U.N. General Assembly from increasing de Gaulle's difficulties—either by supporting a new move from the African republics to adjourn the debate or by using our influence to assure an innocuous resolution by the Assembly that does not by implication condemn France's policy or seem to exert direct pressure for new French concessions.

Next we can, if we choose, exert discreet but effective pressures ourselves on Tunisia and Morocco so that they in turn will bear down on the F.L.N. to modify its present intransigent opposition to a cease-fire in Algeria until its political demands have been met. It is just as urgent and important for us to make unmistakably clear to those French army officers and politicians who are sincerely concerned about de Gaulle's NATO policies that we consider the *Algérie française* position a more serious threat to NATO solidarity than an independent French striking force, and above all that we see in de Gaulle the only French leader—as undoubtedly he is—who can hold the French nation together at this critical time.

From a more long-term viewpoint, it seems essential to reconsider our hostility to de Gaulle's demands both for a high-level policy co-ordinating committee in the western alliance and for broadening the concept of western solidarity to include the western position in Africa.

De Gaulle would certainly reject any suggestions of trading further French concessions in Algeria against American concessions in NATO, but by agreeing to the latter we would automatically create a framework for consultation on Algerian affairs—along with African ones generally—as problems of common concern. This would increase our possibilities for exercising a constructive influence in Algeria. If Communist intervention in the Algerian war continues to develop, events themselves will soon impose this evolution of the western alliance both on de Gaulle and on his allies. It seems a pity to wait until we have no choice.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Cult of Neutralism

HENRY A. KISSINGER

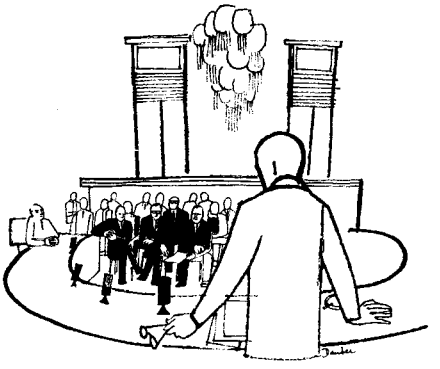
THE PROBLEMS new nations face in political and economic development are difficult enough in their own right. But they are further complicated by the fact that the new nations find themselves drawn into international affairs to an unprecedented degree. While building governments and seeking to realize the most elementary aspirations of their people, they are constantly being wooed, asked to make judgments or to assume responsibilities for which they are, in most cases, thoroughly unprepared.

Our own approach to the new nations has not helped matters. As in most other fields of policy, the United States has been going from one extreme to the other. For a time we acted as if the only political significance of the new nations was as potential military allies; neutrality was condemned and great efforts were made to induce new nations to join security pacts. Within a few years this policy has been replaced by its exact opposite. We now not only seem to find neutrality commendable; we have gone further and have conducted ourselves in a manner that may make our allies, at least those outside the North Atlantic area, doubt the wisdom of close association with the United States. The oversimplification that could see no political role for the new nations except as members of security pacts has been replaced by another oversimplification based on the premise that the "real" contest is for the allegiance of the uncommitted. We sometimes act as if we were engaged in a debate with the Communists in a sort of Oxford Union where the uncommitted or neutral nations act as moderators and award a prize after hearing all arguments.

WE MUST ASK ourselves, however, whether the new exaltation of noncommitment is not just as dangerous as the previous emphasis on alliance-building, and whether there is not an inconsistency between the desire of the new nations to be neutrals and their desire to be arbiters.

To begin with, there is a certain ambivalence, if not disingenuousness, in the sudden deference now being paid to neutrality. The principal difference between the Dulles approach to the new nations and that which urges America "to respect neutrality" often seems to be merely one of method. Both policies are designed to bring the new nations somehow to our side. Secretary Dulles thought the way to do this was to castigate their neutralism. Many of those who see in the new countries the arbiters of international relations imply that the way to win their friendship is to respect their desire for noninvolvement. Both assumptions are based on an illusion.

For it is extremely doubtful whether, on many of the most important issues dividing the world, *any* policy can win the support of the uncommitted. A number of Americans seem to assume that the reluctance of the new nations to commit themselves is due in large part to our failure to "present our



case properly" or to the fact that the new nations have certain positive views that we have failed to take into account. But this line of reasoning itself fails to take into account the fact that on most international issues, except those affecting them most directly, the new nations will invariably take a position somewhere between the contenders, regardless of their view of the intrinsic merit of a given dispute. To the new nations, neutrality seems more important than the issues involved in any particular dispute because both their image of themselves and their bargaining position depend on maintaining that neutrality. "Neither side has won us," said an African diplomat during the 1960 session of the General Assembly, "and we are determined that neither will."

THE UNITED STATES, of all countries, should be able to understand this state of mind. In the first years of our existence no conceivable British policy could have led to an American alliance or even to American support on policies outside the Western Hemisphere. Our desire not to become involved was stronger than any views we may have had on international issues, except those affecting the Western Hemisphere most urgently. Nothing Britain could have said or done would have induced us formally to take sides. If Great Britain in 1914 or 1939 had made its resistance to aggression dependent on American support, Germany would have overrun Europe both times without opposition. No British policy, however respectful of our neutrality, could have induced us to give up our noncommitment.

It is no different with the new nations. A grave problem arises when the laudable view that we should understand and *accept* their desire to maintain neutrality is transformed into an *exaltation* of noncommitment. Although it would probably have been wise to have avoided such groupings as SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), it is surely going too far to seem to pay greater attention to neutrals than to allies. The realization that we should not press the new nations to join alliances should not be carried to the extreme of discouraging those who have made a different choice. When noncommitment becomes a cult, slogans such as "appealing to world opinion" can easily turn into excuses for inaction or irresponsibility.

The new nations will take a stand against dangers that they fear will affect them. But they are not apt to take a stand on problems that seem to them far away. The Chinese brutality in Tibet made an impression in India; the equally brutal Soviet repression in Hungary did not. Despite all moralistic protestations to the contrary, the reason for the dif-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

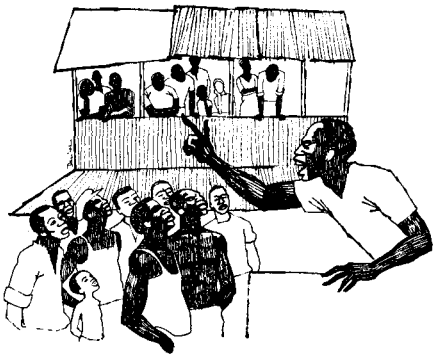
ference in attitude was practical and not theoretical. Chinese pressure on India's borders was a concrete danger and the events in Hungary simply were not. Though it is true that our policy with respect to the new nations has often been maladroit, it does not follow that a different policy can change their nonalignment.

The New Judges

To be sure, the new nations sometimes create the opposite impression because their own attitude toward noncommitment is at least as ambivalent as ours. All too often, they couple insistence on respect for their neutrality with an attempt to play the arbiter's role in international affairs. But the arbiter's role implies that they will support one of the parties if they can be convinced of the correctness of its position. It is an invitation to a courtship that encourages the very pressure which is said to be resented.

Many of the leaders of the new states are flattered by the rewards that fall to the uncommitted in the competition of the major powers. For many of them, playing a role on the international scene seems not only more dramatic but also much simpler than the complex jobs they face at home. Almost all of their domestic problems require patient, detailed efforts, and the results are frequently long delayed. Domestically, each action has a price. But on the international scene, it is possible to be the center of attention simply by striking a pose. Ambitious men can thus play the dramatic role that is often denied to them at home, or they can use foreign policy as a means to solidify their claim to national leadership.

Unfortunately, the same factors that make the international arena so tempting—being wooed, escaping from intractable domestic problems—also militate against the seriousness of the effort. It is the symbolic quality of international forums that is most attractive to many of the leaders of the new nations, as we have seen in the opening weeks of the present session of the U.N. General Assembly. The opportunity was welcomed to declaim general maxims that never seem to apply quite so simply at home or to the issues of foreign policy in which an uncommitted nation is directly concerned. But these same nations are much less willing to assume substantive responsibilities, particularly in areas not directly related to their immediate interests.



If the new nations are encouraged to arbitrate all disputes, the impact on international relations will be demoralizing. Noncommitment will thereby defeat its own object. It will be merely another reason for occupying a place at the center of all disputes.

The utility of common action for carrying out tasks in which a real world opinion exists is not at issue. But we must recognize that on many of the most difficult international problems there is no such thing as a meaningful world opinion. And it is simply asking too much of the new nations, which have barely achieved independence, to help settle such technically complex disputes as that over disarmament.

The argument has often been heard that one of the obstacles to a wise United States policy on arms control is the absence of adequate technical studies. Yet our sophistication in this field is incomparably greater than that of any new nations, most of which do not have even one person studying the problem full time. They have no modern weapons arsenal of their own to give them an understanding of strategic problems. They have no technical staffs to study the subject. What they do have is a volatile public opinion at home. In these circumstances, the new nations can easily fall prey to Soviet slogans which sound attractive but which in fact are disguised efforts to disarm the West. The uncommitted are in no position to form a responsible judgment, much less to develop a serious program.

The result of gearing all policy to the presumed wishes of the uncommitted is that many issues are falsified and many problems are evaded. Abstract declarations substitute for concrete negotiations, and diplomacy is reduced to the coining of slogans. Pressure for confrontations of heads of major states is exerted, but is not accompanied by any detailed programs. Peace is demanded in the abstract, but much less attention is given to defining the conditions that make peace meaningful.

Far from aiding the diplomatic progress that is demanded so insistently, such a process tends to thwart it. Far from "strengthening the United Nations," it may ultimately undermine it. Soviet negotiators will lose any incentive for making responsible proposals, since they will be constantly tempted by opportunities for cheap propaganda victories. The West will grow increasingly frustrated when it finds itself incapable of enlisting the support of the new nations no matter how moderate or reasonable its program. And the new nations will be induced to take positions on issues in which the very act of noncommitment proclaims their unconcern and with respect to which their judgment is often highly erratic. It is far from clear why nations that are in need of assistance in almost all aspects of their national life, many of which have difficulty maintaining order within their own borders, should be capable of dealing with the whole gamut of international problems.

Khrushchev's Shoe

Indeed, when neutrality becomes an end in itself, it can unwittingly lead the uncommitted to add their pressure to that of the Communist bloc. The tendency to seek a position separate from the two big blocs can be used by skillful Communist diplomacy to drive the West back step by step.

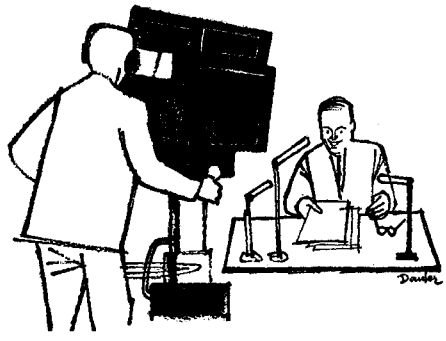
When countries as varied as India, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Ghana, and the United Arab Republic form a "bloc," they are united above all by two motives: to stay aloof from the disputes of the major powers and to magnify their own influence. This desire is understandable. But we must not assume that they will be

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

swayed from this course by the logic of our argument. Apart from domestic and Communist pressures, the internal politics of the neutral "bloc" will prevent it. Individual neutralist nations will not easily separate themselves from their partners even if they should disagree with them on specific measures. India, whatever the private convictions of its leaders, will not easily oppose the United Arab Republic lest it face a united Moslem opposition in its quarrels with Pakistan and also for fear of its own Moslem minority of forty millions. The United Arab Republic will be reluctant to disavow extremist African states lest it forfeit its claim to leadership in Africa. The tone of the whole neutral "bloc" can thus easily be set by the most irresponsible of its members. While we should have patience with these attitudes, we must understand also that on any given issue most of the new nations will seek a position between the two contenders regardless of the merits of the disputes.

As a result, a premium will be placed on Soviet intransigence. When Mr. Khrushchev spoke to the General Assembly in September, 1960, a considerable portion of the American press claimed that he "had overplayed his hand," that he had "alienated the uncommitted." His intemperance was contrasted with the sobriety and statesmanship of President Eisenhower. There is no doubt that Mr. Khrushchev was intemperate. It is less clear, however, whether in the long run his actions will not prove of considerable advantage to the Soviet Union. The very violence of the attack on Mr. Hammarskjöld served as a warning to the new nations of the fate awaiting them should they displease the Communist countries too much. In any given crisis, therefore, the urgings of the new nations may be directed against us not because they disagree with our position but because opposition to us carries few risks. Conversely, the virulence of Communist reaction to any criticism causes the uncommitted to behave with great circumspection in opposing Communist policies.

The speeches in the General Assembly of 1960 by such leaders as Nasser, Sukarno, Nkrumah, and even Nehru illustrate this point. The attacks on the West were pointed and direct, those on the Communist bloc circumspect and highly ambiguous. Almost every speech by these leaders attacked western imperialism. Not a single reference was made to the unprovoked Soviet threat against Berlin—not to speak of other



Soviet policies in Eastern Europe. Nor did the uncommitted nations that were supposed to have been alienated by Mr. Khrushchev rush to the defense of the Secretary-General.

Further, if one considers Soviet relations with the neutrals from the point of view of bargaining technique, Communist belligerence may not have been nearly so foolish as was often alleged. Since the new nations are not likely to support the position of either side completely, regardless of what arguments are presented, it may in fact be good negotiating tactics to start from extreme proposals. Then even if the new nations support Communist demands only partially, the Soviets can in effect add the pressure of the uncommitted nations to that of their own bloc in order to realize at least part of their program. The requirements of maintaining formal neutrality force many leaders who have opposed the Soviet Union on one issue to support it on another. Thus at the 1960 session of the General Assembly, Mr. Nehru failed to support Mr. Khrushchev's proposal for a change in the U.N. Charter with respect to the Secretary-General. In return, he proposed organizational changes whose practical consequence came very close to meeting Mr. Khrushchev's aims. Soviet brutality, coupled with the desire of the uncommitted to remain neutral above all else, can establish the familiar Soviet diplomatic "rules" in the United Nations, according to which the only acceptable changes in the *status quo* are those which magnify Communist power or influence.

Conversely, by seeking to meet all the presumed wishes of the new nations, we may force them to move away from us to demonstrate their independence. It would be ironic indeed if in seeking to approach them too closely we drove them in the direction of the Communist position.

Slogans and the Congo

World opinion is not something abstract that our diplomats must seek to discover and to which we then must adjust. We have a duty not only to discover but to shape it. World opinion does not exist in a vacuum. It is compounded of many factors, including the imagination and decisiveness of our own policy. Many a leader from the uncommitted areas would prefer a clear and firm United States position to the almost desperate attempt to make him share responsibility for our actions.

When we are convinced of the correctness of our course, we should pursue it, even if it does not gain the immediate approval of the uncommitted—particularly in fields such as disarmament and European policy, which are remote from both the understanding and the concern of the new nations. If the uncommitted are to act as intermediaries, there must be clear positions to mediate. Otherwise a responsibility is thrown on the neutrals or on the United Nations that they will not be able to bear.

The crises in the Congo illustrates this point very clearly. Our objective of "keeping the cold war out of Africa" was desirable. But the measures adopted to achieve it were highly questionable. "Keeping the cold war out of Africa" is a meaningless abstraction unless at least a tacit agreement on some ground rules is established between the United States and the Soviet Union. Instead of throwing all the responsibility on Mr. Hammarskjöld, we should have come forward with a concrete charter of what we understood by the independence, the development, and the neutrality of the Congo. This could then have been negotiated with the neutrals and the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communists. Instead, we advanced vague resolutions and left it up to the Secretary-General to interpret them, putting him into the position of assuming personal responsibility.

Though in this manner we achieved temporary tactical gains, we may well have mortgaged the future position of the Secretary-General as well as that of the Congo. It may be argued, of course, that the Soviet Union was not interested in stability and would therefore not have accepted our charter. But quite apart from the fact that it would have been useful to make the Soviets' intransigence evident, the course adopted forced the Secretary-General to attempt to impose on the Communist countries a course of action that was highly distasteful to them. It was against all reason to expect them to accept at his hands what we thought they would not even consider if a formal proposal had come from us.

Moreover, by not defining our position, we deprived the Secretary-General of any real bargaining power. Rather than seeking to adjust conflicting views, he was forced to develop his own definition of stability. This had the practical consequence of exposing him to direct conflict with the Communist states and with some of the African countries as well. It is clear that the office of the Secretary-General cannot survive the determined opposition of the Communist bloc together with that of some of the neutrals. The Secretary-General should never be put into a position of being the sole originator of policy. For he will then either come under violent Communist attack or else will be forced into serving as a spokesman for a kind of neutralism that adds its pressures to those of the Soviet bloc or that uses the United Nations as a means to further national ambitions. Thus the Ghanaian and Guinean troops in effect have taken advantage of the mantle of the United Nations to pursue their own national policies in the Congo.

In short, in a situation where a great deal depended on the ability to be both specific and firm, our approach was uncertain and abstract. We proclaimed stability in circumstances where all criteria of judging it had evaporated, and we offered no others to take their place. The chief result was to sharpen the contest for Africa rather than to ameliorate it, and to raise issues about the structure and operation of the United Nations that would have better remained muted. The noble purpose of "strengthening the United Nations" is turning into a means for weakening it.

A Lonely Job

In dealing with the new countries, we obviously have to do much more than engage in a mere popularity contest for their favor. We must show sympathy and support for their efforts to realize their economic aspirations—to an extent considerably beyond our current contribution. We must respect their desire to stand aloof from many of the disputes that divide the world. On many issues we can work closely with the new nations, and on all issues they are entitled to our understanding and sympathy. But we must not expect that either our sympathy or our economic assistance will be paid for with short-term political support. Unpleasant as it may be, *some* situations are conceivable where we may have a duty to act without the support of the new nations, and perhaps even against the opposition of some of them.

Though we naturally prefer to be popular, we cannot gear all our policies to an attempt to curry favor

with the new nations. We cannot undermine our own security for illusory propaganda victories, because the safety of even the uncommitted depends on our unimpaired strength—whether they realize it or not. As for the uncommitted, we must make it clear to them that they cannot eat their cake and have it too: they cannot ask us to respect their neutrality unless they respect our commitment. And they cannot remain uncommitted and expect to act as arbiters of all disputes at the same time.

We thus face two contradictory dangers: we can demoralize the new nations by drawing them into the political relationships of the cold war, but we can also demoralize them by making a cult of their noncommitment and acting as if only incorrect United States policies kept them from taking sides. The latter danger may be the more insidious because it is the more subtle. We have to face the fact that in major areas of the world, constructive programs as well as defense depend largely on us. Compassion, understanding, and help for the new nations must not be confused with adjusting all policies to their pace. The cult of noncommitment could doom freedom everywhere.

As the strongest nation in the West, we have an obligation to lead and not simply to depend on the course of events. History will not hand us the prizes we seek on a silver platter. A leader does not deserve the name unless he is willing occasionally to stand alone. He cannot content himself simply with registering prevailing attitudes. He must build opinion, not merely exploit it.

What is involved here is a question of style as well as of substance. Moderation, generosity, and self-restraint are all desirable qualities in our relations with the new nations. But one receives credit for these qualities only if an alternative is known to be available. If we seem forever on the defensive, frantically striving to stave off disaster, and if we give the impression that we use world opinion as a substitute for developing our own purposes, our policy will seem to be the result of panic rather than of sober thought. Regardless of what they may think of the individual measures we advocate, our constant defensiveness and our erratic behavior may merely convince the new nations that we are doomed.

Even more important than a change in policy, then, is a change in attitude. We will finally be judged not so much by the cleverness of our arguments as by the sustained purposefulness of our actions.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Economist's View Of Our Unfinished Business

ARTHUR F. BURNS

THE OUTSTANDING social achievement of our times has been the expansion of economic opportunity in our country. We had great prosperity during the 1920's, but the fruits of that prosperity were not shared widely enough. We carried out major social reforms during the 1930's, but in the best year of that decade close to eight million men and women were unemployed. We practically eliminated unemployment during the 1940's, but a huge part of people's savings was simultaneously wiped out by inflation. Poverty, unemployment, unstable money—each of these has been a great destroyer of opportunity through the ages. These obstacles to progress appear smaller as we face the tasks of the future.

Let me cite a few facts on the spread of economic opportunity and well-being. First, jobs have been generally plentiful in recent years. Opportunities for useful work have increased for women as well as men, for the elderly as well as the young, even for the physically handicapped.

Second, a progressive shift has been under way from low-paid and unskilled occupations to well-paid and more interesting work. The professional, scientific, and managerial group is growing rapidly and already accounts for over a fifth of the nation's work force.

Third, small and independent businesses continue to be an important gateway of economic opportunity, despite the giant corporations that seem at times to surround us. Over four and a half million independent concerns are presently engaged in various types of business and their number is growing. Indeed, there are more business firms today, both absolutely and in relation to the size of the nation's work force, than there were ten, twenty, or thirty years ago.

Fourth, our progressively rising national income is being shared widely. The ownership of a good home, an automobile, a refrigerator, an electric washer, a television set, has become the rule rather than the exception in American family life.

Fifth, the disruptive forces of the business cycle have at last been brought under moderately good control. The recessions of the past twenty years were merely pauses in the general advance of prosperity. Not only that, but their impact on the lives of individuals has been blunted through unemployment insurance, the growth of pensions, flexible taxes, better corporate management, a sounder banking system, and a somewhat nicer adjustment of governmental policies to the needs of the economy.

Sixth, the pace of inflation has been materially checked in the past few years. In consequence, we may have greater assurance that the savings accumulated through our bank accounts, savings bonds, insurance policies, and pension funds will remain intact for meeting life's contingencies and opportunities.

THESE EXTENSIONS of economic opportunity are a moral as well as an economic achievement. Far from being an isolated development, they are merely the most recent installment in a long history of progress. Amidst all the conflicts, exuberance, and turbulence of history, one fact that repeatedly stands out is our determination to seek progress by expanding freedom and opportunity. Can there be any doubt that individual liberty and equal opportunity are and must remain our basic ideals? I do not think that many of us want merely to live in peace, have a steady job, and enjoy an abundance of bread, automobiles, or symphonies. We value and want all that, but we value still more the practice of freedom. We want to remain free to choose our occupations, to live where we see fit, to worship God as our conscience dictates, to speak our minds without fear, to choose as our governing officials those who we think can serve us best, to work for ourselves or for employers of our own choosing, and to spend or to save or to invest as we think proper.

This is the great message of freedom and opportunity which America first gave to the world and which Communism is now challenging aggressively. If our message is ultimately to triumph, we must diligently practice its principles. It is characteristic of freedom and opportunity that they can evolve and expand indefinitely, and that is why a free society will always find new things to do. In today's troubled world the two tasks that seem most urgent are, first, to continue aiding the poorer nations whose peoples are restlessly seeking improvement and, second, to make a greater effort to draw into the stream of progress those who have been left behind by its onrush in our own land.

Those Left Behind

Despite the high level of employment in recent times, substantial unemployment has persisted in some communities in different parts of our country. The problem posed by these depressed areas is not new, as anyone familiar with ghost towns

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that were once thriving centers of commerce realizes. A progressive economy such as ours will always be characterized by uneven development of its parts, and it would be folly to ignore this truth. However, the very advances and improvements I have mentioned are encouraging the American people to apply more exacting standards to the performance of our economy. As we have become concerned about local pockets of unemployment, the belief has grown that these communities must not be left to their own devices and that both the Federal and state governments can do more to enable them to help themselves than has yet been attempted.

We can expect extensive experimentation in the future with retraining programs for workers, technical assistance to local groups in devising plans for rehabilitating their economy, and schemes for financing industrial projects that promise to improve a community's long-range economic outlook. These social innovations should be welcomed. Wisely administered, they will serve to ease the harsh adjustments that are often forced on people by a changing economic environment. At the same time we will need to be on our guard that the efforts of government are not carried to the point of weakening the spirit of adventure, initiative, and self-reliance on which both our free society and our economic prosperity ultimately rest.

A more difficult and more serious problem than the chronic unemployment in a few of our cities is the ineffectiveness of human effort in many of our rural areas. Here we find numerous families struggling on farms that are too small or too poor for efficient operation. Here we find inadequate skills on the part of people and inadequate opportunities for off-farm employment. The remaining poverty in America largely centers in these areas.

Whether governmental price supports have proved an advantage or a hindrance for farmers as a class may be debated, but it is plain that they have done little for the marginal farmer. Nor can much be expected of schemes of this type in the future. The most constructive way of aiding low-income families in farming areas is to attack the causes of their trouble, which center around their low productivity. This cannot be accomplished quickly, since it will be necessary to improve the skills of these people and, more important still, their children's education. It will be necessary also to raise their standards of health and nutrition, to improve the sanitary conditions under which they live, to devise credit arrangements suited to their needs, to enlarge or create opportunities for obtaining off-farm jobs in their communities, and to develop better means of conveying information about jobs in distant places. These reforms can be carried out most effectively through local initiative, both private and public. The Federal government can, however, be very helpful in stimulating and coordinating the local efforts. The Rural Development Program, which was established on these general principles a few years ago, is so full

of promise for the future that it deserves to be pursued with a greater sense of urgency.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION of the small businessman also requires thoughtful attention. During the past generation certain basic changes in our economic environment—in particular rising taxes, the accelerating pace of technology, and the spread of national advertising—have complicated the problems of organization, survival, and growth of smaller businesses. Small firms have always had little or no access to the public markets for capital. In the past, however, they were able to expand their plant, equipment, and markets by plowing profits back into their businesses. The extent to which that can be done nowadays is severely limited by the heavy burdens of taxation. We must recognize and be prepared to deal with this and other restrictions on the opportunities of small businesses, so that they may be able in time to challenge the primacy of old-established, and often oversized firms.

But surely the most pressing of all our domestic needs is to enlarge the economic opportunities of colored citizens. Despite the great progress of the Negro during the past century, political discrimination has continued on an extensive scale throughout the South and economic discrimination to some degree has persisted practically everywhere. The consequence is that Negroes are still mainly engaged in unskilled occupations, that their productivity and incomes continue to be relatively low, that many of them remain jobless even when employers find cause to complain about labor shortages, that their children are often denied the opportunity to develop their capacity for a useful and dignified life, that the gowth of our entire economy is held back, and—worst of all—that Americans as a people are burdened with an uneasy conscience.

It is proper that we do what we can to remedy the depressed status of the Negro through new legislation. What we need most, however, is a broader and more persistent educational effort. All too often we think of education exclusively in terms of formal schooling in English, mathematics, science, and other academic disciplines. But education involves also training in citizenship, in ethics, and in personal manners. It involves, besides, vocational training, vocational guidance, and practical assistance to employers or employees who may harbor fanciful notions about the capabilities of this or that group of people. The job of educating ourselves sufficiently to overcome racial prejudice will not be accomplished rapidly under the best of circumstances, but we will make faster progress if we recognize that reform of our laws cannot be the end of the quest for equal opportunity for the Negro.

They Are Watching Us

An enlargement of the economic opportunities of the Negro, of marginal farmers, of small businesses, and of the few areas suffering from chronic

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARBORO BOOKS

early bird pre-Christmas

SALE

of Holiday gift books and prints

SAVE UP TO 83% by doing your gift-shopping now

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

marboro Dept. R-603, 131 Varick St., New York 13, N. Y.

Please send me, postage prepaid, the bargains circled below:

☐ Enclosed find $_____ ☐ Send C.O.D.* *Minimum purchase $3.00.*

☐ Charge my Diners' Club account # _____ } Limited to orders

☐ Charge my American Express account # _____ } of $5.00 or more.

1155 1414 2142 2894 2960 2961 3151 3211 3322 3512 3672 3708 3844 3897
3933 3934 3935 3936 3978 3980 3997 4045 4065 4087 4089 4101 4109 4131
4133 4140 4150 4159 4162 4163 4164 4165 4167 4178 4207 4209 4211 4216
4222 4243 4244 4252 6277 6310 6549 7056 7334 8193 8593 9821
P168 P304 P747 P766 P767 P772 P782

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

☐ Check here if you receive our monthly bargain circular

New York City residents add 3% sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D.
Add 25c per title for deliveries outside U.S.A. and possessions.
10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

WHEN IN NEW YORK CITY, VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP
47 West 42nd Street • 8 East 59th Street • 144 West 57th Street
56 West 8th Street • 390 Fulton Street (Brooklyn)

4167. THE PRIVATE LIFE OF MR. PEPYS. By John Harold Wilson. A first-rate biography of Samuel Pepys, delving into his lecherous nature, his marital tensions and the easy-going, loose-moraled society in which he circulated. *Pub. at $4.75.* *Only* **1.00**

3935. WHITE-JACKET or The World in a Man-of-War. By Herman Melville. A semi-autobiographical novel about life aboard a U.S. Frigate in the 1840's, vividly depicting the character of Navy men and the harsh punishments of the time. *Special* **1.00**

4159. THEATRICAL COMPANION TO COWARD. By Raymond Mander & Joe Mitchenson. A pictorial record of the first performances and revivals of the theatrical works of Noel Coward; plays, operettas, revues, films, TV scripts and lyrics, with all pertinent information about dates, casts, etc. plus publications, discography, index of characters. 172 illustrations. *Pub. at $10.50.* *Only* **4.98**

P-304. UTRILLO: *MONTMARTRE STREET SCENES.* Portfolio of 8 Parisian street scenes in the delicately colored tonalities that have made his moody landscapes collectors' favorites. Each full-color plate measures 16" x 20". Includes—*Montmartre Street, Place de Tertre, The Garden of Montmartre, Rue de Montmartre, Montmartre Corner, Montmartre Scene, Le Lapin Agile* and *Village Road.* *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **1.98**

4109. U.S. CAMERA 1959: *Pictures That Talk.* Ed. by Tom Maloney. An exciting issue of the famous photography annual; over 300 pages, 24 in full color; features on Weston, Ylla and other noted photographers, New York as seen by 70 artists of the camera, the Space Age, advertising art, and the top pictures of the year from all over the world. 8½" x 11". *Pub. at $8.95.* *Only* **2.98**

3997. THE WORLD OF WERNER BISCHOF: A *Photographer's Odyssey.* Text by Manuel Gasser. Before his tragic death in 1954, Bischof was world famous as one of the foremost interpreters of life through art photography; the full scope of his camera artistry is displayed in this exceptionally beautiful collection of over 70 photos, more than a third of them in radiant color, photos taken in India, Hong Kong, Japan, Mexico, Peru and New York. Magnificently printed by expert Swiss craftsmen. 9" x 11¼". *Pub. at $7.95.* *Only* **2.98**

P-772. KLEE: *THE LONELY ONES.* A subtly colored fantasmagoria of the non-objective and the semi-abstract, in which two lonely figures wander among shapes that relate through color rather than form—soft blues and browns and vivid splashes of indigo and orange. Silk screen. 23" high x 35" wide. *Special* **2.98**

3897. THE LINCOLN TREASURY. Compiled by Caroline Harnsberger. What did Lincoln say about ambition, education, politics, marriage, lawyers, etc? —here is the cream of his wit and wisdom, arranged for delightful reading or ready reference; many selections revealing his humor, sagacity, humility and a key to his greatness. Illus. 372 pp. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **1.98**

1155. *Passwords to History*—EXTINCT LANGUAGES. By J. Friedrich. The wonderful story of the art of deciphering forgotten languages—hieroglyphics, cuneiform, Hittite, Etruscan and other scripts—how their codes were broken; what they have taught us about ancient culture. 71 illus. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

4131. SEAN O'CASEY: The Man and His Plays; THE GREEN AND THE RED. By J. Koslow. Background and analysis of *Juno and the Paycock, The Plough and the Stars* and his other plays. *Pub. at $3.90.* *Only* **1.49**

3936. MOBY DICK. By Herman Melville. The magnificent story of Captain Ahab's pursuit of the White Whale; often considered to be the Great American Novel, and certainly one of the classics of all world literature. *Special* **1.00**

3708. Masterworks of TURGENEV. Two complete novels, *Fathers and Sons* and *Smoke,* and nine of the best short stories of this great writer, one of the three giants of Russian literature. *Special* **1.00**

1414. THE GIRDLE OF CHASTITY: A Medico-Historical Study. By Eric John Dingwall. A fascinating, scholarly and scientific history of one of the strangest, cruellest and most humiliating devices fashioned by man; surprisingly recent and widespread use of chastity belts; a survey of poems, stories and books in which they are mentioned. Photos and drawings. Hardbound. *Special* **1.98**

3512. Sri Aurobindo: ESSAYS ON THE GITA. Luminous interpretations of the famous Bhagavad Gita, not as philosophical doctrine, but as a practical guide to the highest spiritual life, filled with the native power of the Gita's own inspired word of Life, Love and Delight. *Pub. at $6.50.* *Only* **2.98**

4089. SEXUAL SYMBOLISM: A History of Phallic Worship. Intro. by Ashley Montagu. Two classic works complete in one volume with the original plates: *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus* and Its Connection with the Mystic Theology of the Ancients, by Richard Payne Knight; and *The Worship of the Generative Powers* During the Middle Ages of Western Europe, by Thomas Wright. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **4.95**

P-767. DUFY: *HARLEQUIN.* A truly remarkable silk screen reproduction of a gaily dressed Harlequin in a Venetian Piazza that expresses the essence of Dufy's art. The actual picture area is 20" wide x 26" high; 18 separate screens have been used to create an incredibly faithful reproduction that captures the rare decorative quality and luminosity of the impressive original. *Special* **4.95**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4101. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT: Her Life in Pictures. By Richard Harrity & Ralph G. Martin. A panoramic pictorial study of a great lady from lonely childhood to fame as first lady of the country and the world; more than 250 pictures woven into the illuminating, dramatic text. 7½" x 10". *Pub. at $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

4216. PICASSO AT VALLAURIS. The best of Picasso's work in painting, sculpture and ceramics done at Vallauris between 1949 and 1951, when his style matured and when he was deeply occupied with the beauty of his young wife and the charm of their children. The text consists of three essays, translated into English, and there are 85 gravure illustrations and 15 full-color plates, most of them full-page or larger. 10½" x 14". *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **4.95**

3933. OMOO. By Herman Melville. A romance of the South Seas completing the adventures recorded in *Typee;* set largely in Tahiti, it is noted for its lively picture of sailors, natives, beachcombers and missionaries. *Special* **1.00**

P-766. KLEE: *ORIENTAL FESTIVAL.* Trees, buildings and flowers fade into a wonderful mauve and orange background, the warm colors enlivened by cool greens and jade blues. The opaque textures and merging hues are captured by silk screening. 15½" high x 30" wide. *Special* **2.98**

4162. ART DIRECTORS ANNUAL #36. The 1957 edition of *Advertising and Editorial Art and Design,* presented by the Art Directors Club of New York; the annual of the best work in all media—a must for all commercial artists. 8¼" x 11¾"; boxed. *Pub. at $12.50.* *Only* **4.98**

6549. AN UNHURRIED VIEW OF EROTICA. By Ralph Ginzburg. Intro. by Theodor Reik; preface by George Jean Nathan. A forthright, lucid discussion of the 2,000 classics of erotica in the rare book rooms and restricted shelves of the world's great libraries—synopses and extracts of famous works, descriptions of erotica collections, etc. Fine binding; boxed. *Special* **2.98**

3844. ADAM'S RIB. By Robert Graves. A beautiful volume, printed in two colors, in which a noted interpreter of ancient myths presents his interesting theories about the Book of Genesis. A fascinating thesis, to which have been added 36 wood engravings by James Metcalf, done in the ancient Canaanite style. *Pub. at $6.00. Only* **2.98**

9821. TRUMAN MEMOIRS. By Harry S. Truman. The history making memoirs of a man who forged some of our era's most momentous decisions, the most important presidential biography ever written. These volumes are a remarkable record of the former president's tumultuous years as the nation's Chief Executive. Two volume set; almost 1,200 pages. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **2.95**

3980. PEOPLE, PLACES, THINGS, IDEAS. Ed. by Geoffrey Grigson & C. H. Gibbs-Smith. The whole panorama of human achievement is presented in this magnificent, lavishly illustrated, highly readable, 4-volume boxed set. Here are a host of widely divergent but uniformly colorful personalities, the countless objects, from the ingenious to the bizarre, they have devised, the ideas that have bemused, inspired and enslaved them, and the sites they have approached in awe or remade with awesome ability. Each 7½" x 10" volume of over 450 pages includes 200,000 words of text and 176 pages of illustrations, 16 in full color. Handsomely boxed in full-color slipcase. *Pub. at $24.95.* *Only* **9.95**

4150. SCHUBERT: Memoirs by His Friends. Collec. & ed. by Otto E. Deutsch. Professor Deutsch's great study of the life and work of Franz Schubert, begun with the *Documentary Biography* and continued with the *Thematic Catalogue,* is now completed with these memoirs. 23 plates. *Pub. at $10.00.* *Only* **4.98**

P-747. VAN GOGH PORTFOLIO. Eight full-color masterpieces: *The Windmill, Dutch Landscape, Boy With Blue Cap, Portrait of Dr. Gachet, Le Chaumes, Bedroom at Arles, Irises, Flowers in Copper Vase*—reproduced directly from the originals in the world's leading museums. 16" x 20" portfolio. *Pub. at $8.00.* *Only* **1.98**

3151. Hi-Fi Record—Collector's Item: ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND. Read and sung by the inimitable Cyril Ritchard; music by Alec Wilder, performed by New York Woodwind Quintet. The Lewis Carroll classic complete on four 12" LP records—comes in deluxe color-illustrated gift box, with a facsimile edition of the rare 1865 first edition. *Pub. at $25.00.* *Only* **6.95**

2894. REMBRANDT—48 Paintings in Full Color. Intro. & notes by Trewin Copplestone. Portraits, self-portraits, group portraits, religious and genre paintings from the total output of this greatest of masters. The paintings are gouped in themes for a better understanding. 9½" x 11". *Special* **1.98**

6277. WORD ORIGINS AND THEIR ROMANTIC STORIES. By Wilfred Funk. Reveals the fascinating derivations of more than 3000 words in common use, with unusual stories you can use to spark any conversation. 432 pp. *Special* **1.98**

P-168. FRENCH POSTERS: *Picasso, Chagall, Leger, Miro, Matisse.* A portfolio of 8 brilliantly colored posters that will add a sophisticated sparkle to your library, den, office or living room. Reproduced directly from the original lithographs, their large size (16" x 20") makes them ideal for hanging singly or in a group. *Pub. at $8.00. Only* **2.98**

4140. THE EVIL EYE: Studies in the Folklore of Vision. By Edward S. Gifford, Jr., M.D. An amusing, erudite and unusual book of ophthalmic lore, filled with hundreds of facts, many of them awe-inspiring, about a conviction that still terrorizes mankind much as it did before recorded history. *Pub. at $4.95.* *Only* **1.98**

8593. LAROUSSE FRENCH-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-FRENCH DICTIONARY. By L. Chaffurin. Standard desk dictionary, indispensable for every student, teacher and businessman. Includes sections on grammar, pronunciation, names, idiomatic phrases. 768 pp. *Only* **1.98**

3934. TYPEE. By Herman Melville. A romance of the South Seas recording the adventures of a whaling ship and the capture of Melville by natives; a vivid picture of civilized man's contact with the exotic life of the tropics. *Special* **1.00**

4209. THE PAST WE SHARE: An Illustrated History of the British and American Peoples. Ed. by Peter Quennell & Alan Hodge. The complete and authoritative pictorial record of the traditions, art, customs, laws, conquests, explorations, manners, beliefs and achievements of the British and Americans, amassed in one giant volume for the first time. To read this book is to stride through the grandeur of your inheritance, spanning ages, continents and oceans, from Hastings and Runnymede to Yorktown, Appomattox and the present. An enormous volume of unprecedented scope and beauty; 624 illustrations, many spectacular full-page, full-color plates. 8½" x 11". *To be pub. at $12.50. Special pre-pub. price* **9.95**

3672. Henry James: WILLIAM WETMORE STORY AND HIS FRIENDS. James and the American expatriates of his time found in Story what the Hemingway group found in Gertrude Stein; here is James' biography of the sculptor-poet, at whose Roman Palazzo he met the Brownings, Walter Savage Landor, Hawthorne and others. Two volumes combined in one; over 700 pp. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.98**

4243. THE DECEMBRISTS. By Mikhail Zetlin. An account of the Decembrist revolt of 1825, called the "first Russian Revolution"—a study of the psychology of the gentlemen-revolutionaries and how they differed from the professional revolutionists in Russia who followed them. Illus. *Pub. at $5.00. Only* **1.98**

4133. THE SEXUAL RELATIONS OF MANKIND. By P. Mantegazza. The great Italian anthropologist's definitive account of strange and curious sexual customs. First complete and unexpurgated English edition. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.98**

4252. EUROPA TOURING: Motoring Guide of Europe. A big, 700-page-guidebook loaded with color maps, city diagrams, all essential information for travelers, photos and index; includes eastern Europe and the Balkans. With special inserts for customs formalities, currency tables and motoring distances. 1958 edition. *Special* **2.98**

2961. LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER. By D. H. Lawrence. The original, unexpurgated edition that recently made publishing history; the complete, authorized Lawrence text, plus an Introduction by Mark Schorer and a Preface by Archibald MacLeish. Hardbound. *Pub. at $6.00.* *Only* **1.00**

4163. ART DIRECTORS ANNUAL #37. The 1958 edition of *Advertising and Editorial Art and Design,* presented by the Art Directors Club of New York; all commercial artists, art students and advertising executives will want this handsome, indispensable annual of the best work in all media. 8¼" x 11¾"; boxed. *Pub. at $12.50.* *Only* **4.98**

4087. TITIAN. By Dario Cecchi. A biography of the great master, written with feeling and psychological insight. Here is an unforgettable picture of Renaissance Venice and a world peopled with great rulers and even greater men of art. Illus.—color frontispiece. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **1.00**

3211. War Memoirs of General De Gaulle: THE CALL TO HONOR 1940-1942. The authentic story of the Battle of France, the formation of the Free French government and the return to the war of fighting French forces; told first-hand by the man responsible for France's reemergence as a nation. Illus. *Pub. at $3.50.* *Only* **1.00**

4045. CONCISE DICTIONARY OF JUDAISM. By Dagobert D. Runes. A handy, up-to-date guidebook of quick reference in the fields of Jewish history, religion, philosophy and literature. More than 60 full-page illustrations depict significant events and personalities in Jewish history. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **2.98**

4222. SOUTHERN INTERIORS. By Samuel & Narcissa Chamberlain. A handsome 9½" x 12½" volume with over 300 excellent photos of Charleston's finest interiors, with informative data accompanying each picture. This definitive work provides an unprecedented guided tour of some of America's finest homes—for decorators, architects, collectors and all who enjoy the art of living gracefully. *Pub. at $15.00.* *Only* **6.95**

7334. CURIOUS CUSTOMS OF SEX AND MARRIAGE. By George Riley Scott, F.P.H.S. A factual resume of sex and marriage that is also an intimate history of peoples both strange and familiar. Here are records carefully gathered over many years, all of them interesting and some of them astounding—including those of our present society. Illus. 312 pp. *Pub. at $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**

4164. BROTHERHOOD OF EVIL: THE MAFIA. By Frederic Sondern, Jr. A complete picture of the history and activities of that malevolent organization of crime, the Mafia, with an account of the famous meeting at Apalachin and of the activities of Luciano, Anastasia, Costello, Genovese and others. Photos. *Pub. at $3.95.* *Only* **1.00**

4244. THE FIVE: The Evolution of the Russian School of Music. By Mikhail Zetlin. A study of a unique musical phenomenon, the group that consisted of Balakirev, Rimsky-Korsakov, Cui, Borodin and Mussorgsky, their lives and times, which were also the times of Turgenev, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky. Illus. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

4178. GREAT COMPANIONS: Critical Memoirs of Some Famous Friends. By Max Eastman. Anecdotal analyses of Einstein, Hemingway, Trotsky, Freud, Santayana, Chaplin, Casals, John Dewey, E. W. Scripps, Bertrand Russell, Edna St. Vincent Millay and Annis Ford Eastman. Illus. *Pub. at $4.75.* *Only* **1.49**

P-782. PICASSO: *CIRCUS FAMILY.* The well-known oil painting of 1905, *Famille de Saltimbanques,* silk-screened in muted colors to capture the atmosperhic shading of the original, with its subdued pinks and roses, blues and grays. 26" high x 28" wide. *Special* **3.95**

3322. EXOTIC ART: L'Exotisme dans l'Art et la Pensee. By Roger Bezombes. A large, handsomely illustrated volume devoted to the imaginative exotic strain in western art and literature during the past several centuries; here are Turks and Orientals, strange beasts and noble savages, harem girls and South Sea maidens. Over 400 illustrations, including 9 tip-on plates in full color. French text. 10½" x 14". *Pub. at $20.00.* *Only* **4.95**

6310. THE HINDU RITUAL OF LOVE: KAMA KALPA. By P. Thomas. An erudite and detailed survey concerning marriage, morals, women, the art and science of love, and sex symbolism, prevalent in India from remote antiquity to the present day. This monumental history is supplemented by a magnificent gallery of 100 plates and a color frontispiece of temple sculptures and paintings depicting the pleasures of the senses as expounded by Kama. 9¼" x 11½" **12.49**

3978. FRANZ BOAS: THE SCIENCE OF MAN IN THE MAKING. By M. J. Herskovits. An important analysis of Boas' theoretical contributions to anthropology; misconceptions of "race", importance of language, value of field investigations, etc. *Pub. at $2.50.* *Only* **1.00**

4065. INCAS TO INDIANS. Photographs by Werner Bischof, Robert Frank & Pierre Verger. Intro. by Manuel Tunon de Lara. A fascinating photographic study of the living Indians of South America today, presenting some of the last great photos of a great camera artist, Werner Bischof. More than 70 superb shots, magnificently reproduced in gravure; printed in Switzerland. 8½" x 11". *Pub. at $9.00.* *Only* **2.98**

2142. THE CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN ANTIQUES. Ed. by Helen Comstock. Here is the full story of American antiques, presented for the first time in this magnificently produced two-volume boxed set. With 1,000 photos and over 500 pages of text in each volume, this is the standard reference book on the subject. 7¼" x 9¾". *Pub. at $25.00.* *Two vol. boxed set, only* **9.95**

7056. THESAURUS OF BOOK DIGESTS. Ed. by Hiram Haydn & Edmund Fuller. 2000 digests of the world's permanent writings from the ancient classics to current literature. Each country or period or subject edited under the direction of a specialist—a wealth of information and material. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **2.98**

4165. T. S. ELIOT: A Symposium for His Seventieth Birthday. Ed. & intro. by Neville Braybrooke. Fifty tributes to the great poet and critic, including those by John Betjeman, Rose Macaulay, Iris Murdoch, Harold Nicolson and Robert Speaight. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

2960. HOW TO ACCUMULATE WEALTH THROUGH STOCK SPECULATION. By Irvin Wm. Jacwin & Joseph A. Costa. The first truly authoritative book on stock speculation, written by two broker-speculators who have become successful in their own speculative ventures. *Pub. at $4.50.* *Only* **1.00**

4211. CORYDON. By Andre Gide. The famous dialogues on homosexuality published for the first time in English. "Corydon remains, in my opinion, the most important of my works."—Andre Gide. *Pub. at $3.75.* *Only* **1.98**

4207. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD. Here is the most important of the religious writings of the ancient Egyptians, the Hieroglyphic Transcript of the Papyrus of ANI, the translation into English and an introduction by E. A. Wallis Budge, late Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. A collection of prayers, spells, incantations, hymns and magical formulae, some of them dating four and five thousand years before Christ, in a handsome edition that is a must for any library of religion, the occult, metaphysics or the classics. *To be pub. at $12.50. Special pre-pub. price* **9.95**

8193. MAN AND MAMMOTH IN MEXICO. By Helmut de Terra. A world renowned archaeologist and anthropologist presents a fascinating account of his travels, adventures and discoveries in Mexico and Central America. His startling finds are illustrated by fine photos. *Pub. at $5.00.* *Only* **2.98**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unemployment should bring great advantages to our country. If we go about these tasks with practical understanding, we will improve the general welfare, broaden the base of our future prosperity, and invigorate our children's faith in institutions that advance freedom and widespread opportunity. But these are not the only advantages. What happens in America is nowadays of great concern also to the nations of Latin America, Asia, Africa, in fact everywhere. Modern science and technology have made all these people —hundreds of millions of them inadequately fed and poorly informed —our neighbors. Having recently heard echoes of a better life, they are now stirring restlessly to achieve it, although they commonly lack the means or the knowledge to do so. Our historic message of freedom and opportunity will mean more to people abroad than it has of late, if we practice it with greater vigor in handling our international relations as well as the problems at home.

We are accustomed to thinking of international relations as being exclusively the business of governments, but that of course is not true. Private citizens always play a role, and their role is apt to be more fundamental than that of government officials.

Over a great part of our history we held out a hand of welcome to immigrants. The many millions who swarmed to our shores were preponderantly of European stock; but people came here from every corner of the world seeking adventure, economic opportunity, personal freedom, religious tolerance. Some immigrants broke their ties with the Old World, but many maintained them by sending money, food, clothing, and messages to their relatives or friends back home. When a letter from America arrived in a European village or town, it was often passed from hand to hand and soon the entire community knew its contents. Remembering the men or women who had written, people were well disposed to believe what they heard or read. Of course, not all immigrants liked everything about America; they said so and sometimes proved it by returning to their native land. But the great majority stayed, participated in building and adorning the New World, prospered as the rest of us prospered, kept their distant kinsmen informed of their doings, and in the process did far more to spread America's message of freedom and opportunity than our official ambassadors ever accomplished or could accomplish. Largely as a result of such unplanned efforts, America became known the world over as the land of freedom, equality, opportunity, abundance, and—as popular exaggeration would have it —a land in which even ordinary men could perform miracles.

I BELIEVE that we lost something very precious when we gradually permitted the tensions in our society to tempt us into an immigration policy that, besides becoming severely restrictive, loudly professes that some races or peoples are superior to others.

Of late, financial grants and easy loans to other nations have assumed a large role in our foreign policy, but there is a limit to what dollars can accomplish in human affairs—as every individual discovers sooner or later in working out his personal adjustments. Nothing can match the warmth or understanding evoked by a willingness to share the joys and sorrows of life with others, and we must learn to give larger expression to this human principle in handling our international affairs. Although there is no prospect of returning to our earlier immigration policy, which served so powerfully to promote understanding of our national objectives and way of life, we need not lose time in raising the present quotas, which are unreasonably low, or in removing their offensive accent of discrimination. We surely need to devote far more effort than we now do to the study of foreign languages and foreign cultures and we need to use this knowledge actively—by traveling, studying, and doing business abroad, by corresponding with foreign citizens and encouraging our children to do so, by joining with our townsmen to enable foreigners to visit our communities, by welcoming them and other visitors to our homes, and in such other ways as will appeal to thoughtful men and women who want to do their part, as private citizens, in bettering international understanding.

But private efforts to promote international good will cannot suffice in a world that has suddenly shrunk as a result of the marvelous discoveries and applications of science. The enormous disparities of wealth, income, and education among the nations are now exposed to everyone's view, and therefore raise moral as well as political problems. Suppose that we awoke one morning and found that our own homes had become surrounded during the night by shacks filled with hungry, superstitious, and illiterate men who had come to stay. Is it not likely that we would begin to wonder about our personal security or the permanence of our prosperity? But if these fears were quieted in the course of the day by the discovery that our new and unwished neighbors seemed on the whole to be law-abiding citizens, would not our hearts soon respond to their misery? Would not practical sense lead us, besides donating what we could from our pantries, to take common counsel on the best ways of helping them to find useful jobs, obtain medical care and also some sort of schooling, so that they could in time become resourceful and productive members of our community? And would we not see that some of these needs, such as schooling, could be met more swiftly and more securely through our local government than through voluntary efforts?

I think that in this paradigm I have expressed the essence of the problem of foreign economic aid in our time. The seriousness of the problem is intensified by the menace of Communism, but the problem would be grave enough without it. As the world's principal architect of personal freedom and opportunity, to say nothing of being the richest of nations, the United States neither can nor should want to avoid carrying the major responsibility for assisting, through public as well as private means, the poor and underdeveloped nations.

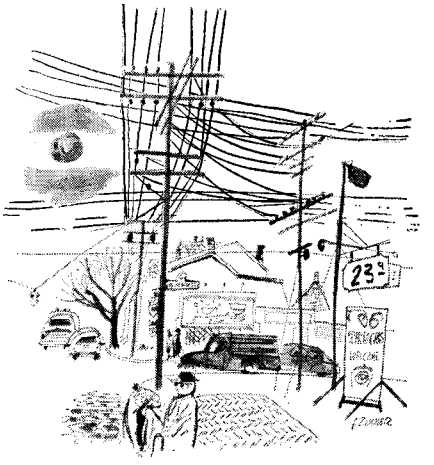
WE MUST keep in mind, however, that large-scale governmental economic assistance is a new concept and that we need to keep reviewing our aid programs, so that we may learn how to manage them wisely.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I have stressed the importance of education as a means of expanding opportunity for a better life for Americans. The need for schooling at all levels is all the greater in the new and struggling nations. Certainly, one of the greatest obstacles to their development is the scarcity of skilled and professional manpower. We and other well-to-do nations have tried to be helpful, but no nation either can or wants to depend entirely on the outside world for its essential skills. On the other hand, there are limits to the number of native students who can be sent abroad for training. For not only is the cost very heavy, but it has been found that some of the students return home with an education that is not suited to local needs.

Let us suppose, therefore, that our government, duly mindful of the pride as well as the practical needs of other countries, advised each of several of the poorer nations that, if it so wished, we would build for its people a university to train students in engineering, agriculture, medicine, public administration, and other professions, and that we would assist in staffing the faculty only to the extent we were requested to do so. The financial cost to us would not be large, as such things go in our time, and perhaps could be met by redirecting some of the present outlays on economic aid. In any event, the benefits of such a program could repay the cost a thousand times over. Few Americans appreciate the love, respect—indeed, the reverence—for learning that exists even among the poor and illiterate people of other lands. To very many of them a university is a temple in which men come closer to God—a temple that will still be there, distributing its blessings, after they have gone. But the universities of which I speak, besides being noble monuments to international good will, would have the immediate and practical purpose of widening the opportunities of many for a better life. With universities of their own, the poorer nations could in time train the thousands of professional experts they so urgently need.

These reflections on the need for universities, however seriously one may take them, matter less than the generalization to which they point, namely, that the kind of aid we extend to other nations and the way in which we do it are just as vital as the amount of aid. It may be tempting, in view of the embarrassments of our agricultural plenty, to persuade foreign nations to take some foodstuffs off our hands when they would prefer machinery. It may again be tempting, in view of the deficit in our international accounts, to require that foreign credits be spent on goods produced in the United States. Such practices, however, run counter to the principles of freedom



which we are trying so earnestly to communicate and to share with other nations. Not only that, but they spread distrust of our motives and can harm our foreign policies.

To be sure, we have our domestic problems, and the two I have just mentioned are serious, but we should be wise enough to seek constructive solutions. In the case of agriculture, if we pursue policies that prevent surpluses from arising in the first place, we will not need to invent ways of pushing them out. And as for our balance-of-payments difficulties, we are likely to do well enough if, besides persuading other prosperous nations to do their part in helping to provide development capital to needy areas, we ourselves cling resolutely to domestic policies that promote reasonable stability of costs and prices. By so doing we will not only stimulate export trade far more effectively than by any "Buy American" arrangements, but we will also provide assurance to foreign governments, banks, and investors that the billions of dollars which they have elected to hold here will remain safe.

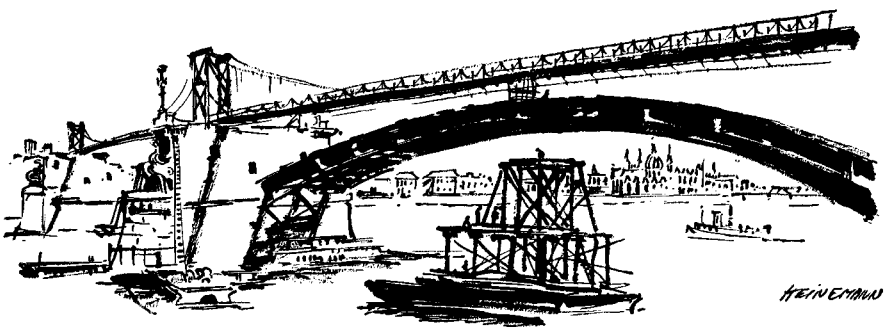
If my sketch of current needs and possibilities is anywhere near the mark, our generation can look forward with a sense of exhilaration to the continued enlargement of human freedom and economic opportunity. But as we bend our energies to this high objective, we should bear in mind the teaching of history that monopolies, pockets of special privilege, even governmental tyrannies can grow out of misguided efforts to enlarge opportunities for a good life. These misadventures of the human spirit should not diminish our zeal for improvement, but they should lead us to support our idealism and compassion with economic statesmanship.

A Disciplined Idealism

Let us proceed then with vigor to devise or improve special programs for bringing the lagging parts or groups of our own economy and of the outside world into the stream of progress. Let us be careful, at the same time, not to underestimate what our government accomplishes through policies that operate with some uniformity over the economy as a whole, as when anti-trust laws are passed to foster open and competitive markets, when tax laws are reformed to stimulate investment in better tools of production, when monetary and fiscal arrangements are adjusted to promote a high level of employment and reasonable stability of the price level, or when tax revenues are spent on research, education, roads, airports, and other investments to enhance the productivity of the private economy. When jobs are readily available and the productivity of labor is rising, the most powerful of all forces are already operating through the market place to lift low incomes, to increase opportunities, and to spread prosperity. Nor are these effects confined to the domestic economy. As our economy grows, so also will our imports from the less developed nations, and this will mean even more to them than direct economic aid.

When all is said and done, our largest contribution to world progress is likely to be the example of an expanding economy that remains both strong and humane, precisely because our eagerness to enlarge freedom and opportunity is disciplined by economic intelligence.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Remember Hungary:

1. The War Goes On

GEORGE BAILEY

BUDAPEST

ALTHOUGH the Soviet Union crushed the Hungarian revolution physically, it could not crush the fact or the spirit of 1956. Indeed, it is because the Hungarians were thwarted only by Soviet military intervention that the revolution has become what it unquestionably is today: a national obsession. All that the Soviets could do was to enforce a compromise. The result is a stalemate, a state of abeyance somewhere between glory and ignominy.

"Would you like to see the monument to the insurgents?" a young woman asked me in Budapest. In answer to my incredulous look she took me to Heroes' Square and pointed to what appeared to be a massive red and brown stone pedestal. For a moment I did not recognize the site. "Is that the monument?" I asked. "Oh, it's not what you see, it's what you don't see that counts," she answered. "This monument was not erected; it was torn down. Here is where the gigantic statue of Stalin stood. We overthrew Stalin in Hungary and left nothing but the bastard's boots. And since the Communists could not fill his boots, they took even them away. It's a beautiful monument!"

The concessions wrung from the Soviets by the revolution are much more than mere sops. They are substantial and extensive, if limited in number. The Soviets were forced to open halfway the floodgates erected against western culture. An inundation followed. It was considered necessary to import a fairly large number of West German jukeboxes with many of the latest records of western, and particularly American, light music. To supplement the government import quota, musicians listen to western radio stations (the very thing the quota was supposed to discourage), note down the music, and make their own arrangements.

The printed and broadcast word is still the jealously guarded preserve of the Soviet Union. But here too, in the field of contemporary literature, the Soviets have been forced to concede almost unqualified defeat. Last spring, the results of a poll conducted by a leading Hungarian literary magazine among its readers showed Hemingway in first place among the favorite authors. The only Russian or Easterner to make the list of twenty was Sholokhov, an entirely atypical Soviet writer, who placed thirteenth. Entertainment, fashions, architecture, interior decorating—all are triumphantly western.

The Best and the Latest

As a result of the revolution, the Soviets have had to allow for and even cater to the Hungarianness of the Hungarians. In the long run, this may well prove to be the fatal concession. Culturally, the chief characteristic of the Hungarians as a people is a consuming passion for excellence. This passion takes the specific direction of modernism. Everything, ideally, not only has to be the best; it also has to be the latest. To achieve excellence and modernity, no effort or expense has ever been spared. In the last century the Hungarian government commissioned Ferdinand de Lesseps of Suez Canal fame to build the famous Budapest chain bridge. As soon as elevators were invented, one was installed in every three-story building in Budapest. Prewar Budapest was an architectural jewel, facets of which still resemble Paris, Vienna, and Florence.

Prewar Budapest was also the world capital of modern music, with Bartók and Kodály for serious music and Lehár and Kálmán for light opera. It was a fashion center of Europe. Hungarian literature, although extraordinarily rich and varied, has always been handicapped by the outlandishness of the national tongue, a fact which prevented its finding translators of genius. Nevertheless, Ferenc Molnár became one of the world's foremost playwrights. ("Molnár," said a Magyar gentleman in a Budapest café recently, "was not only great; he was also smooth, sophisticated, modern!")

Hungary is a small country but it straddles the trans-Danubian plain. The *puszta,* the perfectly flat savanna of eastern Hungary, is hardly more than a hundred kilometers across, yet it gives the impression of limitless expanse. Likewise, Lake Balaton, the "Hungarian Sea," is only slightly larger than Lake Leman or half as large as Lake Champlain, but standing at one end of it one cannot see the far end, so the Hungarians call it "endless Balaton." Hungary is the biggest little country in the world.

The sense of grandeur carries with it a capacity for great, spontaneous bravery complicated by a general impatience with an unfavorable situation. As an old Austrian officer recalling the monarchy's wars put it: "In the attack the Hungarians were absolutely superb—my God, what overpowering elan! When it came to defense they usually went home."

It is their passion for the modern

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that binds the Hungarians most strongly to the West. Theoretically, if the Soviet Union were to outstrip the West in the arts and in technology, the Hungarians would automatically turn East. But the West has no cause for fear: "The belles-lettres produced in Hungary since the Communists took over can be counted on one hand," said the writer Peter Veres not long ago. The same can be said of Soviet literature after more than forty years.

San Quentin on the Danube

Since the revolution the government has made a considerable effort —backed by heavy Soviet subsidies and abetted by a radical readjustment of production priorities—to improve the material welfare of the people. Something very like a crash program in housing contruction has been in progress since mid-1957. The results are already substantial and in good taste, in stark contrast with Stalinváros (Stalin City), a new socialist town which was, as a Communist functionary in Budapest put it, "unfortunately constructed before 1956." Stalin City features the notorious "penitentiary style" of architecture, bearing a strong resemblance to San Quentin.

Food in Hungary today is good and plentiful, although a pork shortage is threatening; provincial newspapers often report court actions brought against farmers for slaughtering their sows to thwart collectivization. There is also a good deal of money in circulation. The average worker's wage is from eight to ten forints an hour or about 1,500 forints (perhaps $100) a month, and some skilled workers make as much as 3,000 forints a month, an average not far below the Austrian equivalent. As is almost always the case in Communist countries, professionals and artisans add considerably to their regular wages by serving a private clientele on their own time.

Significantly, however, the baffled régime admits that the increase in the standard of living has brought with it not the slightest gratitude from the people. It is attributed solely to the revolution, and credit for it is reserved exclusively and passionately to the insurgents: "Those who died in 1956—they died so that we could live better." The improvement is proof that the revolution was not in vain.

In any case material improvements are no compensation for prerogatives that continue to be withheld. The loss of freedom of movement outside Hungary, specifically to Austria and the West, is one of deprivations most acutely and bitterly felt by the Hungarians. "This is a government," intoned a functionary in Budapest with quiet pomposity, "that will not give you a passport. But it is also a government that will guarantee you a job, a decent place to work with good wages, and an adequate pension." A current anecdote has it that a worker rushed home to tell his wife that they would soon be able to travel to the moon. "Yes," she answers, "but when will we be able to travel to Vienna?" In compensation, the government encourages Hungarians to see Hungary. This means a visit to Lake Balaton, the only mass vacation spot in Hungary.

Before the Second World War the spas on the hilly north shore of Balaton were the traditional haunts of the aristocracy; the flat southern shore of the lake was reserved for the middle class. Now the intelligentsia and the professional classes—doctors, academicians, writers, engineers —people the north shore in the summer while the southern shore is taken up by workers' rest homes: the spacious villas of the bourgeois have become this or that Budapest factory's summer haven. Siófok, the capital of the workers' paradise, swarms with factory hands and their families, most of them dressed in the blue sweat-suit uniform of their class. The workers in Siófok were, in fact, a glum lot. The unwilling darlings of the régime, they still form the broad base of resistance to Communism in Hungary. To this day they stubbornly refuse to accept the brigade system of labor.

Traditionally, nobody can whoop it up like a Hungarian. But under Communism the Hungarians take their pleasures absently and sadly. Hungarians are compulsive dancers, but today dancing serves another purpose: it is a way of working off the load of national frustration. There is no gaiety, and few attempts are made to counterfeit it. The pall is omnipresent. Only once did I see it lift. This was in Badacsony on the north shore where the gloom was dispersed by sheer natural beauty. My wife and I sat among the vineyards high above the lake, sipping the wine of the region and watching the "golden bridge," the reflection of the setting sun across the lake. This was later replaced by the "silver bridge," the Balaton reflection of the rising moon. "Once," said a companion quietly, "I spent too long with my wine and tried to walk across the 'silver bridge.' It was very embarrassing. I had to be fished out by the lake guard."

But the beauty of Balaton is no distraction from the fact that the Hungarian is a virtual prisoner in his own country.

LIFE IN Hungary is at least equally unpleasant for the 250,000 Communists. We visited a collective farm, called a "co-operative farm" since the revolution, at Makó, a small town just five kilometers from the Yugoslav border. "We are not sending you to a showplace," said the functionary in Budapest, "just an average co-operative—not the best and not the worst." (We had hardly arrived when we were informed by the farm chairman that the Makó collective had won the All Hungarian Co-operative Farm Prize for 1959.) Our hosts were the chairman and the secretary.

As custom has it, we were regaled with Pálinka, a peach brandy which is the Hungarian national drink. After the first sip, the chairman put a question: "What do the American people think of the counter-revolution?" (This was the one and only time I heard the term "counter-revolution" in Hungary.) My answer prompted an argument which, with few interruptions, lasted through the next eight hours. We were joined

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from time to time by other members of the farm administration who had heard that there was an ideological discussion with an American going on and asked permission to listen.

The collective farm was a model. We were shown the dairy stables, the pig farm, melon and garlic fields, and a peach orchard. The animals were in excellent condition. The living quarters of the farm workers were fair enough by rural Hungarian standards. But the workers were emphatically sullen—particularly in their relationship with the chairman and the secretary, both of whom tried hard to give the impression that they were on the best of terms with the workers. "A farmer is a man who owns land and works it," said a middle-aged Hungarian in the Hortobágy, the great Hungarian plain, a few days later. "A member of a collective farm is a farm worker. That is the difference, and the difference is everything! I had five acres —not much, but it was enough. When they collectivized my land I left."

On the walls of the collective's assembly hall there were ten large lithograph portraits of Communist functionaries, among them a woman and a young man in uniform. Under each portrait were the dates of birth and death. In every case the date of death was October, 1956. Most of the victims had been under thirty years of age; only one was more than forty. "Martyrs," said the secretary as we passed by. "All from this town?" I asked. "All from this town," he answered.

We were invited to dinner in what must have been the largest public restaurant in town, complete with gypsy orchestra. It developed that only the secretary was actually dining with us. The chairman and his wife, who had joined us, explained that they had already had dinner. When the chairman could possibly have had dinner was a mystery: he had been with us constantly since five o'clock. My wife and I ordered and were served within ten minutes. The secretary, who ordered when we did, was served almost an hour later.

The restaurant was packed and the great majority of the guests were young. As the evening wore on, it became clear that our hosts were being demonstratively cut by everyone in the restaurant. The young men and women at neighboring tables stared daggers at us.

The chairman and the secretary were fairly well indoctrinated but poorly informed. And they were by no means thoroughly convinced Communists. They made a great point of Cuba. (There is a Hungarian book on Communism in the Americas entitled *From Columbus to Castro*.) Hadn't the American government discriminated against Castro? Hadn't it sent a plane to bomb Havana?

"Do you," I asked, "honestly think that the United States government sent a plane to bomb Havana?"

"Yes," they said.

"Then I will ask you the same question again," I said, and I did.

There was a brief silence. Both the chairman and the secretary looked down at the floor, then looked up with a sheepish grin. "No," they said. "No, of course not."

Later, when I entered the washroom of the restaurant, a young man fairly jumped in behind me. "The whole town knows you're here!" he almost shouted. "Are you really an American? Then what in hell are you doing with these people? Don't you know who they are? Don't you know that you are being used?" And he was gone.

Sotto Voce Hostility

The Communists in Hungary are cut, spurned, and derided in a *sotto voce* hostility that is everywhere. The solidarity of the general public in this regard is truly astonishing. "Is the office manager a Communist?" "No, he is a Hungarian." "Can I talk openly with the superintendent?" "No, he's a Communist." "There are nominal Communists who are actually Hungarians," someone explained to me, "just as there are so-called Hungarians who are Communists. But you cannot in fact be a Hungarian *and* a Communist. That is no longer possible." On another occasion, on the outskirts of Debrecen in eastern Hungary, a family pointed out that they did not speak to their nearest neighbor. "Why not?" I asked. "He behaved very badly during the revolution," was the answer.

The Hungarian talent for self-deception, the art of keeping the fata morgana of hope constantly before one's eyes, is exercised to preserve some peace of mind, if not sanity itself. The infamous AVH, the secret police, has not disappeared, as some Hungarians would like to think; it has merely been reorganized and renamed. It is as effective as ever. The Communist régime in Hungary still rests squarely on naked terror (much of it "retroactive"). Early last year the official Hungarian spokesman, László Gyáros, admitted to a Reuters correspondent that the government was still executing former insurgents and would continue to do so "until the last of the insurgent leaders has been liquidated." For his frankness Gyáros was transferred and his post abolished.

The executions continue. Currently there is a good deal of talk in Budapest of a certain cemetery in the city "where there are many unmarked graves, and some of them are fresh: there will be more."

The reports circulated in the West of executions of teen-agers actively involved in the revolution have been proved untrue. They were simply deported—to Kazakhstan and to Siberia. Although Communists are doctrinally careful with young people, the Soviet decision to deport was not primarily humane: children make good hostages.

It is seldom that an attempt is made to hoodwink a foreigner. "The only ruler of Hungary," exclaimed a nineteen-year-old student in Budapest, "is General Kazakov [the commander of the Soviet occupation troops in Hungary], and Kádár is his prophet—but that is all that Kádár is." The Kádár régime is sometimes referred to by Hungarians as the "sub-government." The general attitude toward the "sub-government" is somewhat ambivalent, as befits the situation or the régime: "Why knock off Kádár, anyway? We'd only get somebody worse in his place."

In internal affairs, the "sub-government" acts as a sort of buffer

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between the Soviet administration and the people. This is its most thankful role. Except in garrison towns (there are about a dozen of them) or towns near airports, it is possible to live in Hungary and even in Budapest for weeks on end and never see a Russian. By contrast, it is impossible to travel any distance without meeting Soviet military convoys on the highways. But there is a community of interest between the state apparatus as a whole and the people when the preservation of national identity becomes a primary consideration. Many "sub-government" officials are not Communists, many are old Socialists in involuntary disguise, some are active Christians; the majority are Hungarians first, last, and always.

IN FACT, the double nature of the "sub-government" is a reflection of the dualism of party and state that is a standard shift of all dictatorships. This arrangement creates two necessary and interlocking possibilities. It secures for the party the cooperation of the people in the government, and it provides the people with the opportunity to infiltrate the government in order "to avoid the worst and work for the best." The opportunity for the people is not entirely illusory. During the revolution even the party proved to be at least as much Hungarian as it was Communist. Hence the post-revolutionary purge that reduced party membership by half.

In foreign affairs a sharp distinction is made between the party and the "sub-government." In the organs entrusted with the conduct of foreign affairs, the party per se and with it the interests of the Russians are entrenched. Here, instead of fronting for the people vis-à-vis the Soviet administration, as the "sub-government" often does, the party fronts for the Soviet administration vis-à-vis the outside world. Hence any loss of prestige or diplomatic setback sustained by the party in its international relations is welcomed because it weakens the party at home. As the party becomes more diluted within the context of the "sub-government," it is forced to represent the interests of the people to the Soviet administration rather than merely implement the directives

of the Soviet administration against the people.

The Hungarian Communist régime is a puppet. The chief virtue of the puppet to the Soviets is the fact that it is Communist as well as Hungarian; its chief virtue to the people is the fact that it is Hungarian as well as Communist. It is a question of who controls the puppet. There is no hope—for the Hungarians—of controlling the puppet in its diplomatic appearances. But there is some hope—indeed, thanks to the revolution, there are definite prospects—of controlling at least a few of the puppet's movements in its domestic performances, but only if the non-Communist world refuses to accept the party internationally as anything other than merely representative of Soviet interests. In this regard alone the Hungarians still expect help from the West. The question of whether the Hungarian delegation to the U.N. should be fully reaccredited is perfunctory.

Shortly after the revolution a Hungarian refugee in London asked Georges Mikes, the émigré humorist, if he was ever homesick. "No," answered Mikes, "I think that only the Hungarians who have remained in Hungary are homesick."

It is the confrontation of the dream with the excruciating reality that keeps the dream so vividly alive. "We are no longer only Hungarians, we have also become necessitarians," a man in Budapest explained. "I think our real capacity now is that of homesteaders. This country no longer really belongs to us: the Russians have the run of it. But we are still here, and if we stay here and keep 'homesteading,' then one day this country will belong to us again. That is really our only hope." Meanwhile there is reason and pride —and, for some who have made too many compromises, a gnawing sense of shame—in the attempt to make the long vigil as materially comfortable, and modern, as possible.

2. Cardinal in a Cage

DANIEL SCHORR

BUDAPEST

AT DAWN on Sunday, November 4, 1956, when the Soviet tanks started thundering, Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty had known only four days of freedom after seven and a half years in Communist captivity.

The régime had sentenced him, in February, 1949, to life imprisonment, and in 1955 had moved him from prison to house arrest in a church building because of his poor health. It was here, on October 31, 1956, that Hungarian soldiers came to free him on orders from Premier Imre Nagy.

And on this morning, when he would have celebrated his first Sunday Mass in freedom, the Russians had started their final assault against the Hungarian uprising, and it was time again to return behind walls. The Primate of Hungary drove to the white-stone American legation on Freedom Square and asked for asylum.

Others had asked asylum and had been turned away; the United States traditionally does not believe in diplomatic asylum. But this was Cardinal Mindszenty, and what was there to do? A rattled chargé d'affaires, out of contact with Washington and with no time to ask for instructions if there had been contact, took the cardinal in.

That was four years ago. And, today, the United States legation still lives with that decision, and with Cardinal Mindszenty. His presence means special "cardinal-watching" duty for the handful of legation officers, special funds for his upkeep from an undesignated American gov-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment source, and special harassment at the hands of the vindictive Kádár régime.

The government professes elaborate indifference. Says János Kádár, chief of the Communist Party: "We have an old priest, Cardinal Mindszenty, who is still sitting in the American legation. Maybe he will ascend to Heaven directly from there."

But the evidence points to anything but indifference. Every hour of the day and night there are three cars of the AVO, the secret police, parked at strategic points around the legation, one with its engine constantly running. Avo men in plain clothes stand at the legation entrance, keeping watch on those who leave. When a large group leaves, as after a movie showing, the AVO men stand in the doorway, scanning each face.

ON ONE OCCASION—when the College of Cardinals met two years ago to elect a new Pope—the legation tried to open talks, seeking safe-conduct for the cardinal out of Hungary. The approach was rebuffed. The foreign ministry says, "Whether Cardinal Mindszenty is imprisoned or executed is purely a domestic affair and could not be a subject of discussion between Hungary and the United States."

The cold fury of the régime hangs over every legation member. American cars are followed, almost bumper to bumper, in a way that no other diplomatic mission has experienced. Americans find it hard to get and keep Hungarian domestic help. Hungarian employees of the legation, some of many years' service, resign with regret but without explanation. American diplomats cannot travel more than twenty-five miles from Budapest without permission—a restriction not applied to other diplomats or to American tourists. Exit and entry visas for legation personnel and their guests are sometimes unaccountably delayed. And to climax the misery, shipments for the legation commissary—everything from baby food to whiskey—have been halted by the government.

Even without such special refinements in harassment, life in the legation as host to a fugitive cardinal is tough enough. On the third floor, where the primate lives and where the chancery offices are located, there is an iron-bar gate that opens by a combination lock. A wrong twist of the dial starts a siren screeching that jars even the old hands.

The legation officers rotate on an overnight and weekend duty roster. "Auxiliary duty," as it is delicately called, brings special overtime pay that hardly compensates for having to report, red-eyed and yawning, in the morning for normal diplomatic work. But no one complains. And Garret G. Ackerson, the chargé d'affaires who serves in lieu of the minister whom the State Department still refuses to send to Hungary, shrugs his shoulders about it. That's the way things are, that's all. To indicate that it is a burden would give aid and comfort to the Communist régime. And so it is no burden.

The Exile at Home

Amid all this, Cardinal Mindszenty himself moves serenely. He lives in a three-room apartment across the hall from Mr. Ackerson's office. There is a tiny bedroom, a larger living room with a fireplace, and a kitchen that remains unused because meals are brought on a tray from the cafeteria in the basement.

The desk in the living room doubles on Sunday as an altar when the cardinal celebrates Mass for a handful of American and other western diplomats. No one may attend his Mass who is not cleared by Mr. Ackerson, which means only diplomats and, of course, no Hungarians.

The cardinal keeps to his quarters when there are visitors on the third floor, but at other times he roams the corridor. In his vestments, with red cap, crucifix dangling from his waist, his hands folded, he treads slowly down the hall, in search of a book from the library or just stopping off in an office to pass the time of day with a legation employee.

The only outdoor air he breathes is on a daily walk in the legation's inner courtyard, a grim-looking prisonlike enclosure about ten yards square. One side of the yard is a Hungarian-owned building from which AVO officers watch him. Because there is a door to that building from which an attempt could be made to seize him, Cardinal Mindszenty never walks alone, but always with a legation official holding his hand.

The days drift on, but the cardinal improves his time. In four years he has learned passable English, in which he now delivers his Sunday sermons. He is an avid reader of newspapers in Hungarian, German, and English. Sometimes of an evening he lights up a cigar and watches television in the library. He is working on a book about his life and his reflections on the world, with which he has had so little direct contact in the past decade.

At sixty-eight, the cardinal is in good health, suffering only from the gradual ailments of age. There is no American physician in Budapest; undoubtedly a Hungarian doctor would have to be called. Whether the régime would permit one to come is an open question. It would be, as far as I could learn, his first contact with a Hungarian since he entered the legation four years ago.

PRESUMABLY there are plans for what would be done in a variety of eventualities—if he fell ill, if he died, if an attempt were made to take him by force. But there is no plan for how to change his status, and nothing is in sight to change it. The legation lives with its "religious affairs attaché," as he is sometimes jocularly called. The engine of the AVO car runs outside. And the cardinal walks and writes and prays.

What Hungarians think of him today is not easy to ascertain. To many, he still appears to be a revered figure. Some say life has passed him by and he is almost forgotten. A few say, bitterly, that other princes of the Church would have preferred prison or martyrdom.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Movie with a Message

PAUL JACOBS

With the active help of the House Un-American Activities Committee, a commercial film company in Washington, D.C., has sold five hundred prints of a movie called *Operation Abolition* during the past few months at $100 each. Although the committee has attempted to disguise its role, it is responsible for much of the production of the film, which presents a distorted version of demonstrations that were staged by a group of college students when the committee had hearings in San Francisco last May on the subject of alleged Communist activities in northern California.

The movie is made up almost entirely of newsreel shots, filmed by TV cameramen who covered the events for stations KRON and KPIX in San Francisco. After the hearings had been completed, two committee staff members—William Wheeler, chief West Coast investigator, and Fulton ("Buddy") Lewis III, went to the television stations with subpoenas for all the newsreel film that had been shot during the demonstrations. They then selected the footage they wanted and had prints made of it, telling the stations that the film was needed for "documentation." Neither the studios, the staff photographers, nor the reporters were paid for their film, although *Operation Abolition* is ostensibly a commercial venture.

The prints were sent to Washington, where the committee staff edited the film and wrote a commentary for it. After that had been done, film and commentary were turned over to a commercial film company, Washington Video Productions, to be made into a movie.

"Buddy" Lewis assisted the company with the technical work on the film, and the narrator's voice is his. Representatives Francis E. Walter (D., Pennsylvania), chairman of the committee, and Gordon Scherer (R., Ohio), a committee member, both appeared as commentators. The film was then made an official House document and advertised by the committee in a special publication, "The Communist-Led Riots Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, May 12-14, 1960."

The film itself opens without any of the usual credits. Instead, Congressman Walter launches immediately into the main theme of the picture, which is to suggest that the demonstrations were Communist-inspired and Communist-led. In the attempt to prove this assertion, both the narration and the way the film clips were edited deliberately distort a number of facts.

For example, separate sequences have been run together in *Operation Abolition* to give the impression of mob action, and the film shows students displaying defiance after police

warnings, although actually the demonstrations occurred at a completely different time. And the police use of fire hoses on the students is justified on the basis of the claim that the students attempted to rush police barricades inside the City Hall, where the committee was holding its hearings. But no film accompanies the commentary about this alleged attempt; in fact, photographs taken at the time show the students seated on the floor and in the corridors when the hoses were turned on them. After the riots were over, the sheriff of San Francisco County said: "There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students."

The film has received wide distribution. The *Saturday Evening Post* recommends it, with the claim that "For once the facts are pictorially recorded for all to see!" The *National Review* has plugged it, pointing out that it is "available from the HUAC." A retired admiral has written letters on behalf of it and some Republican candidates used it during their campaigns. Prints have been bought by a number of corporations, including the Schaefer Brewing Company of New York and the Standard Oil Company of California, which purchased ten prints to show to its employees. The staff of Washington Video Productions say that requests for prints of the film are coming in so fast they can hardly keep up with them.

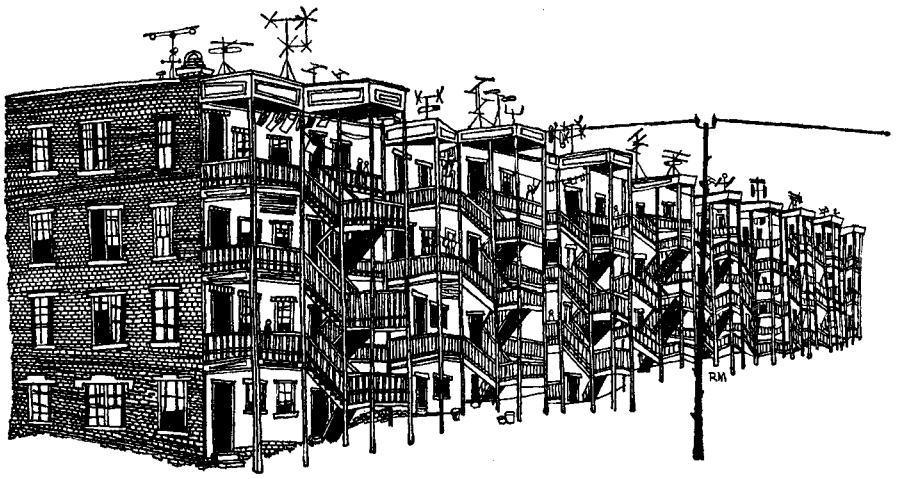
In Arizona, the film is being handled by the Phoenix Anti-Communist Committee. According to officials of the American Civil Liberties Union in Arizona, high-school social-studies teachers are being urged to show the movie, P.T.A. groups have been approached, and college libraries have been informed that prints are available to them. A Phoenix TV station has run the film, and an ad plugging the TV showing was run in a local paper, paid for by the Lions Club.

When the Arizona A.C.L.U. protested against the showing of the film at a P.T.A. meeting without any indication that a number of students who had participated in the demonstration disagreed with the film's presentation of the events, members of the group were warned of vague but dire consequences that might follow if they continued in their protests.

Students at the University of California in Berkeley have prepared a detailed answer to the movie which they are distributing wherever they can. William Wheeler of the House committee staff has admitted on a Los Angeles TV program that there were distortions in the film.

Some of the students may have misbehaved, but no evidence has been offered proving that their original demonstration was under the control of the Communist Party. Although *Operation Abolition* seems to be doing well at the box office, this unusual venture of the House Committee on Un-American Activities into moviemaking is not apt to win any prizes for accuracy.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



It's All in the Family

MICHAEL J. HALBERSTAM

My surname is, you will note, an unusual one. In the days before the Second World War when we lived in New York, my immediate family were the only Halberstams in all of the five boroughs.

This was as it should have been, for my brother and I had often been told that our grandfather was the only one of his family and his name to come to this country. Mistreated by foster parents, chafing at the long hours and discipline of an Orthodox cheder or school, he set out alone in his late teens. He landed in Philadelphia in 1888 and, unlike most of his fellow immigrants, headed for the smallest place he could find, settling in a Pennsylvania mill town of some six hundred people.

A small town with but one other Jewish family is not an ideal place to practice Orthodox Judaism, for its requirements of special diet, dress, grooming, and services presuppose a community of one's coreligionists. Furthermore, not all my grandfather's experiences with Orthodoxy had been pleasant ones, and he soon abandoned much of the letter of the Law. He remained a devout Jew all his life, but had no regrets and little nostalgia about the life he had left behind in Europe. Nor was my father, a surgeon, more than mildly interested in the history or customs of traditional Judaism. The one thing both he and my grandfather agreed upon, if not the importance of Judaism to the Halberstams, was the importance of the Halberstams to Judaism.

In the Old Country (the Galician district of Austria-Hungary), my brother and I were told, the Halberstams had been famous for their learning and piety. From the mid-eighteenth century until my grandfather's abrupt emigration, all the Halberstam men had been noted rabbis, and one, the rabbi of Tzans, or "the Tzanser" as his followers called him, had been particularly famous for his wisdom and his almost miraculous powers. All the Halberstam rabbis were members of the Hasidim, a sect which sprang up in Poland during the eighteenth century and which stressed communion with God through mystic experience rather than through the traditional ceaseless study of the Torah. The mystic experience often followed or came in the midst of fervent dancing, singing, and drinking: my father called the Hasidim the Holy Rollers of Judaism.

Like most simple, pious people, the Hasidim tended to venerate their religious leaders; they scandalized traditionalists by attributing divine powers to their rabbis. They broke further from convention by making the rabbinate a hereditary office, convinced that if their rabbi were inspired by God, his son would be too. In this way dynasties of rabbis developed, and their leaders held court for the faithful, handing down decisions on religious and civil matters.

All this meant little to me. True, once I came upon the Tzanser Rabbi's name in a collection of Hasidic sayings, and occasionally a rabbi would ask us if we were related to the Halberstam rabbis, but it was a fame which cut little ice with one's schoolmates or at Boy Scout camp. It faded further into the remote past during my college years and medical school, after my father and grandfather had died.

In 1957 I returned to New York for my internship, the first time since 1942 that I had lived in the city. After reacquainting myself with the subway system, I delved into that other treasury of the city, the telephone books, wondering if any Halberstams had appeared to take my family's place. It was a revelation. There were Halberstams in wholesale lots. In Manhattan there were ten, and in Brooklyn there were twenty-four, of whom twenty-two were rabbis! Only the steady alphabetic progression from "Halberstam, Rabbi Alter; Halberstam, Rabbi Baruch; Halberstam, Rabbi Benjamin; Halberstam, Rabbi Chaim" and on down the page convinced me that it was not all an absurd typographical error.

I mutilated my Brooklyn phone book, extracting the list of Halberstams, and carried it about in my wallet to show people how my tribe had increased. At last an acquaintance informed me that after the war a large number of the Hasidim had come to this country as displaced persons and had settled in Brooklyn. There they maintained as much as possible their old way of life, dressing in long frock coats and black fur hats (the Sabbath best of nineteenth-century Europe), observing the Torah, and obeying their rabbis in both religious and civil matters. So Orthodox were they in observance that many of them protested against the state of Israel, which they felt was a clumsy and sacrilegious hu-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man attempt at what the Messiah alone could create.

Fortunately, the Orthodoxy of these other Halberstams did not extend to the prohibition of telephones. Beginning at the top of the list, I started to call the Brooklyn Halberstams, and finally, after several jousts with non-English-speaking wives, got through to a man I shall call Rabbi Avrom Halberstam. He spoke good English and listened as I explained the curiosity that had prompted my call. He was silent a moment and then asked, "Where did you say you were born?"

"New York."

"And your father?"

"Pennsylvania."

"Transylvania?"

"No, Pennsylvania. In this country."

"Oh. And your grandfather?"

"Galicia."

"What city?"

"I don't know."

The rabbi said nothing. He was plainly dubious if not worried, and apparently in no mood to invite me over to see the family. Then I added, "And we are related to the Tzanser Rabbi."

"Oh!" The password had been given. "I never heard of such a thing, Halberstams in this country so long. Do you speak Yiddish? When I get excited I talk better in Yiddish."

"No, I'm sorry I don't."

"A Halberstam and he doesn't speak Yiddish! Look, you must come and see us. Come tonight. No, better you come Friday, you can come to *shul*. Maybe you read Hebrew?"

"No, just the alphabet."

"So, don't worry. I'll show you where to read." And he proceeded to give me elaborate but clear directions on how to reach his home.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON the subway left me in Brooklyn on a wide, tree-lined boulevard fronted by large frame and brownstone houses. Most of the houses were ill-painted, and even the trees appeared to have seen better days. Away from the main boulevard all impression of spaciousness disappeared in street after street of small, gray apartment houses. A shopping section was frantically busy with housewives laying in their provisions before the onset of the Sabbath at sundown, and I noticed that many of the boys wore the long sidelocks of the Orthodox Jew.

The man who greeted me at Rabbi Halberstam's was short, clean-shaven, and cheerful-looking. He was somewhat plump and this, with his small snub nose, gave him the engaging appearance of a night-club comedian. He looked like no Halberstam of our family, which tends to run toward tall, heavy-featured men. I stared at him impolitely before introducing myself and asking for the rabbi.

"I'm sorry, I'm sorry," he said. "I'm the rabbi. I mean *a* rabbi. I know—you wanted a beard! So did I. But I work in a store and I can't have a beard. So I asked *my* rabbi and he said, 'It's O.K., shave it off. We know you're a good Jew.' When I have my own congregation, then I'll have my beard back. You know—"

"Avrom, Avrom!" a voice called from inside, "Don't talk all day in the door. Ask the doctor in." The rabbi took me inside and introduced me to his wife, Reva, a pretty young woman, conventionally dressed. He poured us all a large glass of whiskey, offered blessings in English and Hebrew, and immediately began the conversation. The subject, of course, was Halberstams.

"You know, if you think there are a lot in Brooklyn, you should have been in Europe. I was too young, but my father told me. In every town in Hungary there was a Halberstam rabbi. Like a monopoly you would call it. In certain places they had to spread out, so they wouldn't be one brother working against another. Hitler took care of that. My father and two uncles. I could work, so they let me live."

The thought seemed to depress him, but he quickly brightened up when he thought of something else to tell me about our family. "That was how the name started, did you know? Many years ago, maybe 1700, there were three brothers in the city of Halberstadt in Germany. Each one called himself the Halberstadt Rabbi. People got all confused. So one brother said, 'I will make my name Halberstam and I will be the Halberstam Rabbi.' That's how we know all Halberstams are related not so far back. And ever since then they are all rabbis. But don't worry, It's a good thing to be a doctor. The Torah says—"

"It's a wonderful thing to be a doctor," his wife interrupted him. "Avrom, you shouldn't talk so much about your family. Maybe the doctor would like to say something."

He laughed. "He wants to hear about the family or he wouldn't be here." He turned to me for support. "She's always telling me not to talk so much, especially about the family. But she's not a Halberstam. How could she know? Do you want to make any questions?"

I wanted to know when he had come to this country.

"I came here in 1947 when I was twenty-one. First I was in France two years, waiting to come here. That's where I met Reva. She was waiting too. I call her my French bride. But we didn't get married until last year. Our families were friends in Hungary. Her father wasn't a rabbi, but it was a very religious family. I can promise you. Her cousins are married to Halberstams too."

"How did you like this country when you got here?" I asked.

"A wonderful place. You know, in Brooklyn now there are as many Hasidim as there were in some cities in Hungary. More coming all the time, too. We have big families. You know, like the Catholics. No birth control. Pretty soon—"

"Stop talking, Avrom, and get ready for *shul* or you'll be late," his wife said. The rabbi darted to a closet, emerged carrying a long black overcoat, and hurried us outside. As we left, I offered to turn off the lights, an activity the Orthodox regard as equivalent to the making of fires and therefore forbidden on the Sabbath.

The offer was a mistake. My hosts could not be responsible for the barbarities I committed in my own home, but they were not themselves going to co-operate in my sin. A small Negro boy was drawn out of a game of stickball and given a quarter for the job.

ON THE WAY to the synagogue (the Hasidim prefer the words *"shul"* or *"steibel,"* which have a less grand

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

connotation), the rabbi explained that it was a small place with no room for the separate women's gallery required by the Bible, so his wife would wait at a friend's house across the street until the service ended. He showed me to a small brick two-family house, identical with all the others on the block except for a large Hebrew sign in the front yard and a Star of David over the door.

The service had already begun when we arrived. The congregation, from little boys of five or six to wizened old men, stood in front of rough wooden benches. All held prayer books, and each was praying loudly, fervently, and at his own pace, for the Orthodox Jew does not pray at the bidding of a leader but rather by himself in the company of others. The rabbi, so important to his congregation in settling points of doctrine or domestic troubles, becomes little more than another supplicant at prayer.

As soon as I got used to the discordant voices around me, I noticed that the entire congregation was in motion. Little boys and arthritic graybeards all moved rhythmically in time to their prayers. "Davvening" is what the Orthodox call this; I knew the word, but had never seen it done. Some of the worshipers merely nodded their heads back and forth. Some rocked back and forth precariously from their heels to their toes, leaning far over on the backswing. A robust teen-ager beside me moved slowly from side to side, his wispy beard swaying in time. In front of me a thin, bright-eyed young man jerked his shoulders abruptly, almost convulsively.

Although my host held his prayer book in front of me and pointed out the general direction of the text, I could not follow the service. I felt conspicuous, and only a few times, when the entire congregation sang parts of the service to simple, familiar European folk tunes, did I recognize anything resembling the services in synagogues I had attended.

Without any ritual that I could notice, the service ended and the worshipers began to leave. On the steps, as the congregation chatted around us, I was introduced to two Rabbi Halberstams and one Rabbi Teitelbaum, all of whom gave me what t best could be called fishy glances. On the way home I was told that Rabbi Teitelbaum, a youngish man with a flagrant red beard, was related to "the" Rabbi Teitelbaum (famous for his protests against Israel) and was a coming rabbi in his own right.

"You understand," my host told me, "in Brooklyn I'm only a little Halberstam. A young man doesn't get a congregation so quick. It's like with a doctor; they want an old man with a gray beard. There are a lot of us young Halberstams that are maybe part-time rabbis. We have a job selling or we work in diamonds [a common Hasidic trade in this country]. Of course we only work in very Jewish stores where the customers need a salesman who understands the Torah. All the time we're meeting people and studying and being extra rabbis when the regular rabbi's sick, and pretty soon, who knows, we have a whole congregation for ourselves.

"But the big Halberstams, they're famous all over Brooklyn. The Klausenberger Rebbe [Rabbi Y. Y. Halberstam], even the New York *Times* writes about him. From all over the city people come to him when they have problems. If a man and his wife are not getting along too good, they don't ask for a marriage counselor or a doctor. They go to the Klausenberger Rebbe and ask him. And maybe later, if they still can't get along and they need a divorce, they don't run for lawyers; the rabbi listens and decides how they should split up the property and who should take the children. No courts. It's all in the family."

By this time we were home and, after corralling the same colored boy, we went up to the apartment. We then began an elaborate Sabbath meal of many courses, each one preceded by a drink and a blessing in Hebrew, with the rabbi giving me a *sotto voce* translation as he finished. His wife read parts of the service along with him and joined in loud song at certain sections; the tunes were again those of folk songs and, with encouragement, I hummed along enthusiastically. Plum cake and brandy ended the meal.

After supper we again talked of the family. The rabbi wanted to know about the marriages my branch had made in this country and if any of us were rabbis. His wife wanted to know about my hospital, if there were any Jews in Texas, if I had ever gone out with Gentile girls, and what they were like. I asked again about how they liked America and New York.

"A wonderful city," the rabbi said again. "Understand, I don't know much about Manhattan—I go over there maybe once a month for a meeting—but here in Brooklyn is a wonderful city."

"Why do you think it's so wonderful if you've never seen most of it?" I wanted to know.

"It's the only place in the world where a Hasid can be a Hasid," he said. "I don't care about the rest of the city, I just want to live my own life. Here they let you alone. They've got all kinds of crazy people, so a few crazy Jews don't bother. If, God forbid, some hoodlums make noise around the *shul,* you call the police and the police arrest them. The Jews they let alone."

What about Israel, I asked.

"No good," said the rabbi. "Don't make a mistake. I'm not a crazy person against Israel. I don't go picket the President. For some people, for some Jews, Israel is O.K. But not for Hasidim. You know why? Because when you have a country run by Jews, they think they can make laws telling other Jews how to observe their religion. They put women in an army, they run business on the Sabbath, they go against the Torah. Pretty soon they'll make laws that kosher meat is too expensive so it's illegal, that beards are dirty so you got to cut them off. If you make protest, all they say is, 'We make the laws and we're Jews and what's good enough for us Jews is good enough for you Jews.' In this country they let you alone. All you've got to do is say something is part of your religion and nobody makes laws about it."

The rabbi paused thoughtfully and then he said, "You know, doctor, there are plenty of nice girls here in Brooklyn. Maybe you don't know too much about religion, but they could teach you."

I thanked him, but explained that I already had a girl, that I wasn't so sure that I could learn everything required or that I really wanted to; I had grown up in a different way

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of life, a different kind of Judaism, one that suited me.

Ignoring his wife's protests, the rabbi continued, "Understand, I don't want to make you think that your way of life is bad. But I think for you personally it is a mistake. I want to ask you a question—why are you a Jew?"

Fortunately, he answered this question himself. "You are a Jew because you want to be one. Nobody forces you. You talk like everybody else, you dress like everybody else, you think like everybody else. All you have to do is go over to City Hall and change your name and you're Dr. Hall.

"How come you don't go?" he continued, producing the argument that I later learned was the semi-official rationale of the modern Hasidim. "For some reason you want to be a Jew. But me—I *have* to be a Jew. I talk different, my clothes are different, I think different. I don't have a choice. And my children won't have a choice. And neither will my grandchildren. They will be Jews because they don't know anything else. You think about that."

ON THE SUBWAY HOME I had plenty of time to think about it. The hospitality of the young couple and their enjoyment of their religion were still warm in my mind. I thought of the steadfastness of the Hasidim in the face of persecution, the richness of their tradition. I thought of the ambiguities in being a twentieth-century American Jew, the community furors about crèches at public schools. The Hasidim were spared all this. I remembered that a return to Orthodoxy was supposedly part of my generation's outlook, and for the first time I felt sympathetic toward it.

But the subway ride from Brooklyn to the Bronx is a long one. And when the late-evening crowd swarmed into my car at Grand Central, when the woman reading a Russian grammar was jammed into the lap of the man studying the *Daily Racing Form,* I remembered that the rabbi in Brooklyn had set himself to ignore New York. I remembered the way his wife had asked about the city. It is a hard thing to ignore New York if you live there. About grandchildren, who can tell?

A Taste of Zany

MARYA MANNES

THE ONLY THING Brendan Behan and Jean Anouilh have in common, aside from current productions on Broadway, is my apparent inability to pronounce their names. Be-HAN (BEEhan?) tries hard not to write a play and succeeds. Anouilh (Ahnooey? Ennui?) tries hard to write a play and often fails. Since he expects nothing of me, Behan gives me no sense of guilt at all. On the contrary, I become as irresponsible a spectator as he is a playwright. But with Anouilh I am insecure and guilt-ridden. I try very hard to understand what he is saying, and if I don't, I feel it is my fault. I sit there convincing myself that important truths are waiting in the wings and that I should be happy in such witty, literate, imaginative company, but my legs keep twitching and I find myself wishing I were somewhere else, preferably in a bar.

I know this is reprehensible, especially when I recognize irony and perception in so many lines and when *The Waltz of the Toreadors* came over television last year like a miracle of astringence. But in *Becket,* Anouilh's study of the strange relationship between the boorish Henry II of England and the close companion who transferred the ardor of his loyalty from king to God, I suffered from the same malaise. My mind urged involvement but my emotions lay dormant. I would be happy to see Sir Laurence Olivier playing the Seventh Dwarf in *Snow White,* and he had much better lines in *Becket;* the scenery of Oliver Smith and the costumes by Motley were wonderful. But quite aside from the general quality of disengagement and anemia which (to me at least) spells the weakness of Anouilh, I was deeply disturbed by the difference in kind and timbre between the performances of Anthony Quinn as Henry and Olivier as Becket. Quinn is a fine actor, but he is wholly American not only in accent and intonation but in bearing, walk, and gesture. I could not for one moment believe his presence as a Norman monarch, however uncouth and simple, or his relationship with the Saxon Becket. It confirmed once more my belief in the necessity of homogeneous style in any theater production, not merely in accent or mannerism alone but in a common heritage of techniques and attitudes.

THAT there is no such discrepancy in *The Hostage* is one of its pleasures. The people Behan has thrown together in his Dublin boardinghouse-brothel are a cockeyed assortment, wildly various, but they are unified not only by a close-knit cast but by the Irishman's love of them, his irrepressible good humor, and his roaring irreverence. For these his plot is a thin excuse, and I found myself at first rather pursing my lips at such wholesale flouting of dramatic disciplines, and even more at its Irishness, a little of which usually goes a long way with me. But the acting was so good, the lines were so funny, and the songs so blithely inserted for so little point that I let reason abdicate and Behan take over. It is, as many have said, no more than a romp. But it is not a stupid romp. And if I am grateful to Behan for anything more than that, it is his outrageous impudence toward the unmockable, whether it is the Church, chastity, or a simpler continence. He will not lower his voice, and for this I salute him.

I SALUTE even more—for they *have* disciplines—Mike Nichols and Elaine May, who channel their manifold and exuberant talents into the only kind of satire that counts: criticism born not only of observation but of attitude. Their sense of values, compassionate as well as sharp, binds the whole evening together, whether Elaine is a PTA chairman and Mike a lecturing playwright called Alabama Glass, whether he is a celebrity radio interviewer and she an idiot-starlet, whether both of them cavort in the manners of characters out of Dostoevsky, Erskine Caldwell, or Ingmar Bergman. Although there is a high intellectual content in what

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they do, they are neither pretentious nor labored. Although their satire can be keenly edged, it is never sour: they remain in their different ways delightful young people. You wish they would never stop.

I MISSED *A Taste of Honey* in London last year, but the fame of this first play by a nineteen-year-old Lancashire girl, Shelagh Delaney, had preceded it. It deserved to.

For if we are talking of attitude dominating material, here is a prime case in point. The bones of the story, startling as they may seem, are the least of it: the neglected daughter of a prostitute is made pregnant by a Negro sailor and then befriended by a young homosexual. That the play is neither shocking, sordid, nor depressing is proof not only of Miss Delaney's fundamental innocence—the kind of candor that makes some children's paintings miraculous—but of the kind of wisdom that leaps full-grown, untutored, from a rare few. It may never leap again. But in *A Taste of Honey* there is nothing arbitrary in what might otherwise seem grotesque relationships. You understand why the mother is as she is, silly and callous as she might seem. You understand the girl's need in bitter loneliness of the sailor's love, light as it is. You understand the real comfort the lonely young deviate gives and takes from her. Certainly, Joan Plowright and a superb cast contribute to such involvement. But the creation of this whole and separate world is still Miss Delaney's, and even the best actors could not force us to share it. «»

Debut of a Master Pianist

ROLAND GELATT

SVIATOSLAV RICHTER, the Russian pianist who is now touring this country, is the last of the once-sequestered Soviet musicians to emerge from Eastern isolation. He may also be the last important artist to burst upon the United States in full maturity after a long career abroad. New York is now closer to Paris than was London fifty years ago, and it has become commonplace for promising European musicians to begin shuttling regularly across the ocean by the time they reach their late twenties or early thirties. The forty-five-year-old Richter is thus something of an anachronism; like Anton Rubinstein and Jean de Reszke in the nineteenth century, he arrives here not as a *Wunderkind* but as a seasoned celebrity.

We have waited this long to hear him only because the Soviet government willed it so. The post-Stalin thaw in Soviet-American cultural relations brought us in quick succession the pianist Emil Gilels, the violinist David Oistrakh, and the cellist Mstislav Rostropovich; but Richter, who was reportedly the most splendid performer of them all, remained under wraps—for reasons that have never been satisfactorily explained. It is one of the paradoxes of Soviet policy that he has finally been allowed to come here at a time when relations between the two countries are anything but genial.

ATTRACTED by the evidence of his Iron Curtain recordings, reports of travelers to Moscow, and the prospect of tasting hitherto forbidden fruit, New Yorkers snapped up tickets for his five Carnegie Hall recitals even before Richter had landed here. Swarms of VIPs in the music world—pianists and other instrumentalists, conductors, teachers, critics, impresarios, record-company officials—were on hand for his debut. No one was at all disappointed. Richter's incredible velocity, his uncanny control of dynamics and tone, his wide-ranging musicianship, and the absence of trumpery in his interpretations combined to place him at the pinnacle of his profession.

In appearance Richter makes a thoroughly different impression from the stalwart, businesslike Soviet musicians who had preceded him here. Gilels might reasonably have been mistaken for a football coach and Oistrakh for a jewelry salesman, but Richter is a reversion to the old-school musician—to the soulful demeanor, the poetic gestures, and the intense expression of the typical romantic virtuoso. It is easy to believe that he belongs to the artistic outgroup in the Soviet Union (significantly, he played the piano at Boris Pasternak's funeral) and that he is prey to shifting moods and unpredictable behavior. If he were cast as a febrile, moonstruck musician in a Hollywood movie, the director would undoubtedly be criticized for having turned the part into a caricature.

In musical temperament he presents a more complex and contradictory picture. His tightly controlled playing is essentially classic in spirit. He disdains the easy *affetuoso* style and avoids the customary short cuts—excessive rhythmic liberties, phrase distortions, and the like—to so-called "expressive" interpretation. Nevertheless, though it is risky to judge on the basis of a few recitals and recordings, it would seem that the ordered world of Bach and Haydn and Mozart is alien to him. He does not betray the rationale of this music; he is always correct and proper; but somehow one feels that he is going through the motions rather than recreating a message. Even his Beethoven is questionable. Despite many individual excellences—the perfectly chiseled theme and variations of Opus 26, the demonic hurtle of the *Appassionata's* last movement—one misses the inwardness, the cosmic serenity, the rapt philosophical overtones that the greatest Beethoven interpreters (Schnabel, Furtwängler) have been able to suggest.

After Beethoven, however, questions cease. In Schubert and particularly in Schumann, Richter is incomparable. No one has better conveyed the naïve song and impetuous ardor of the early Romantics. He is equally at home with the grand rhetoric of Liszt, the subtle commentary of Mussorgsky, the prismatic brilliance of Debussy, the tart vitality of Prokofiev. All this is Richter's terrain, and he commands it with majestic authority.

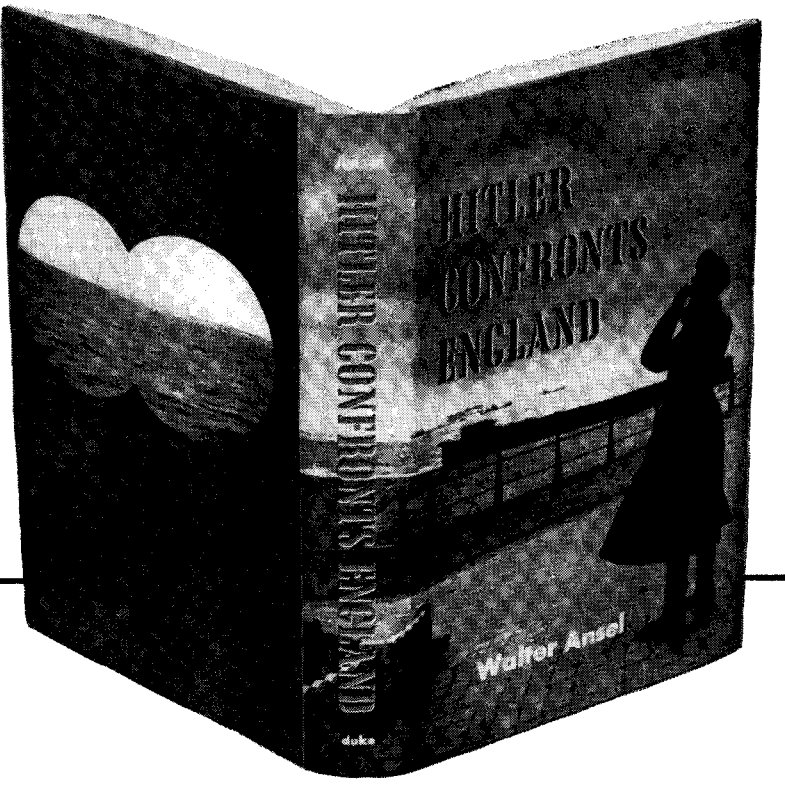
AMERICAN record companies have been falling all over themselves since his arrival, trying to lure Richter into their studios. To date he has capitulated only once. For RCA Vic-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tor he has recorded the Brahms Piano Concerto No. 2 with the Chicago Symphony under Erich Leinsdorf (due for release in early November). Possibly he will make further records at the conclusion of his tour, though in what repertoire and for which company nobody knows. Richter abhors playing for the microphone and refuses to pin himself down about recordings until the last possible moment.

Meanwhile there is a good cross-section of Richter's work available in recordings of Russian or satellite origin. The disc that introduced him to American listeners remains one of the best—a coupling of Schumann's *Waldscenen* and *Fantasiestücke* recorded in Prague and released here by Decca (*The Reporter*, January 9, 1958). Even more impressive is the Schumann collection recently issued by Deutsche Grammophon in both stereo and mono versions; it contains a pure, proportioned reading of the familiar Piano Concerto (with the Warsaw Philharmonic conducted by Witold Rowicki), as well as a breath-taking account of the Toccata in C minor and an interpretation of the F minor Novelette that swings boldly from poetry to bravura without ever degenerating into treacly effusion or brutal pounding. His most persuasive Beethoven on records can be found in a selection of Bagatelles (a Russian studio recording issued here on the Artia label) and a concert performance recording of the *Appassionata* Sonata (on the imported MK label). Neither the Haydn sonata taken at the same Moscow performance, nor the Mozart D minor Concerto made in Warsaw for Deutsche Grammophon, nor the Bach D minor Concerto made in Prague for Artia measures up to Richter's own highest standards, though each has many admirable qualities.

Two actual-performance discs made in Sofia and released here by Columbia are worth special mention, for the pianist was in extremely good form on this occasion (February, 1958) and his repertoire particularly congenial. Unfortunately, neither the Bulgarian recording equipment nor the audience was in equally good form (the coughing perpetuated by the microphones is horren-



"detailed and definitive...will delight both military historians and general readers"*

"Rear Admiral Walter Ansel, U.S.N. (Ret.) writes of Nazi Germany's plans for the invasion of England in 1940 from the sound bases of professional naval competence, extended study of the German documentary sources and many personal interviews with the surviving German army, navy and air force officers involved at every level in the planning of 'Operation Sea Lion.' The Admiral's book is a detailed and definitive study of the projected invasion which will delight both military historians and general readers interested in the German side of World War II. Ansel's analysis of German plans discloses the total failure of the Nazi war machine to appreciate the problems of combined operations. More striking is the evidence of fatal, even subversive interservice rivalries. Ultimately, however, Ansel finds in the strange mind of Adolf Hitler the explanation of the invasion fiasco, for the Führer really did not wish to destroy England, and faced with the prospect, his genius shrank from contact with salt water — he was a landlubber." — **Library Journal*

Hitler Confronts England

by Walter Ansel

$7.50 at all bookstores or

Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Burden of Southern History

By C. Vann Woodward

"This is a thoughtful, original and enormously stimulating work . . . These essays represent modern historical scholarship at its best."—BELL I. WILEY, *New York Times*

"Should not be missed by any Southerner, or by anyone else who hopes for something fine to emerge from the present confusion of thought below the Potomac."—GERALD W. JOHNSON, *The Baltimore Sun*

$3.50

The Quest for Equality

By Robert J. Harris

A highly readable account of the stormy, eventful, sometimes ludicrous history of the struggle for equality in this country.

"What Harris has to say about the inadequacies of the first segregation opinion is the best analysis I have seen, and the more compelling coming from a Southerner." — ALPHEUS T. MASON, author of *The Supreme Court from Taft to Warren*

$4.00

At your bookseller, or from

Louisiana State University Press
Baton Rouge 3, La.

dous), but Richter's performances make both low fidelity and respiratory distractions endurable. One record is devoted to Schubert and Liszt, the other to Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*. The latter is certain to become the classic interpretation of this work, which Richter (unlike Horowitz) plays without any embellishments. Richter's feathery scamper in "Ballet of the Unhatched Chicks," his chattering octave triplets in "Goldenberg and Schmuyle," the staggering speed at which he propels "Limoges," his marvelously controlled arc of dynamics in "Catacombs" (from a plangent double forte diminishing step by step to a distant pianissimo), and the whiplash *brio* of "Baba Yaga" make this one of the most spectacular piano performances ever put on discs. Even Richter's own studio-recorded performance of the *Pictures* (Artia) pales by comparison; though better engineered and more accurately fingered, it lacks the tension and drive of the concert version.

OF COURSE, the best introduction to Sviatoslav Richter is Richter himself in the concert hall. Though he does not connect with an audience in quite the same magnetic way as Toscanini or Horowitz, there is a beauty in his tone, a resonance in his attacks, an excitement in his pyrotechnics that the finest recording apparatus fails to register. We should consider ourselves fortunate to have one of the world's few great artists with us even briefly.

Whatever Happened To Flying Saucers?

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

I MAY AS WELL SAY to begin with that I have always believed in flying saucers. But until today I never gave them very much thought. Today I was flying from Chicago to Lincoln, Nebraska. I suppose we stayed at about ten thousand feet. Anyhow, I looked out of the window a good deal, not having anyone to talk to; and I suddenly wondered why we don't see saucers any more. A few years back, people traveling in airplanes—passengers, the pilots too, sane people like you and me—used to see them all the time. Most of the saucers, I think, were hovering about at roughly the same altitude as the plane, and often quite close to it. Yet I can't recall reading in the papers recently that any of them have been spotted. And today, though I kept looking, I myself didn't see any.

I have the kind of mind that can't let things rest. I began to worry about the problem. A detective-story writer might call it The Case of the Vanished Saucers. Step by step I built up a theory. True, it's only a theory; I don't have positive confirmation; but the pieces fit so neatly that I regard my theory as next door to a certainty.

To start with, I assume:

(1) The flying saucers were real, even if a few of the reports of them were jokes, or psychological in origin.

(2) The saucers came in a random sort of way, and mainly over North America.

(3) They usually flew at around ten thousand feet.

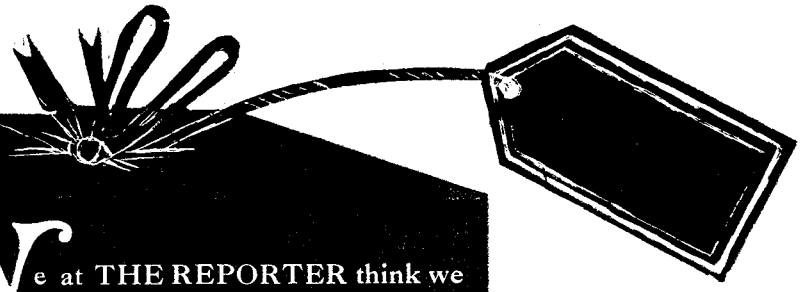
(4) They have stopped coming.

THE FIRST and fourth points you'll just have to assume with me, if we're to get anywhere. The second point I'll come back to later. The third needs an explanation and leads us right into my theory. Why ten thousand feet? Because that was as low as they dared to come, not knowing what might happen if they risked coming any closer. And because from that height they could "see" with their own eyes—or whatever saucermen "see" with. Why did they need to see with their own eyes? Obviously, because they didn't have any

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SO MANY OF US are so well provided with the necessities, and most of life's little luxuries, too, that we go through an annual ordeal each Christmas trying to dream up original gifts for our friends.

Are Your Friends Better Stocked Than Santa?



We at THE REPORTER think we can help you solve this seasonal quandary – for there are still some intelligent adults around who somehow do not have subscriptions to THE REPORTER.

And THE REPORTER can be a refreshingly different gift – guaranteeing a thank-you twenty-four times a year as each new issue arrives full of important, authoritative articles on foreign and domestic affairs . . . spiced with provocative reviews of books, music, painting, with pungently pointed poems, and vivid travel pieces.

Although THE REPORTER may be about the only appropriate present you can give your friends that they haven't already got, it still costs so very little. **After the first gift at the $6 rate, you pay only $5 for the second subscription $4.50 for each additional gift**

* * *

Also, by entering **your own** subscription now, you can arrive immediatley at the reduced rate for all your gifts. If you already have a subscription and it still has a while to run, we'll simply add on your renewal whenever it does expire.

REMEMBER THIS, TOO: giving THE REPORTER not only saves you money – it also saves you time, which is just as scarce around the holidays. Instead of elbowing your way through stampeded stores, you just reach for the pen at your elbow and fill out the order form opposite this page.

And if you're blessed with more friends than Christmas funds, you can simply charge your order. We'll be glad to bill you after the first of the year.

Just before the holidays, your friends will receive a handsome Christmas card announcing your thoughtful gift, and their subscriptions will start with the Christmas issue – the first of twenty-four rewarding reading experiences.

SO . . . *take a moment now to give your friends a gift they'll always remember you for. Make sure they receive their subscriptions in time for Christmas; mail the order card today.*

THE REPORTER

660 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 20

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person.

A 55 18 117 86 184 126 95
"And when she took unto herself a Mate,
She must _____ the everlasting sea."
Wordsworth, The Venetian Republic.

B 26 150 34 166 82 10
To free from restraint; to allow free action.

C 194 42 130 4 72 136 224
"Let schoolmasters puzzle their brain,
With _____ and, nonsense, and learning."
Goldsmith, She Stoops to Conquer, I, i.

D 50 133 187 66 84 Urged on.

E 218 100 32 142 74 173
Eat with quick bites.

F 206 140 192 134 44 189 109 180 24
208 92 171 62 160 198
Form marked by a curve, the sum of whose distances from two foci is constant. (10,5)

G 20 222 106 152 104 2 168 157 48
Organization of kind led by Acrostician.

H 164 147 220 39 12 76
A king of Thrace and ally of Troy, whose horses were stolen by Diomedes and Odysseus.

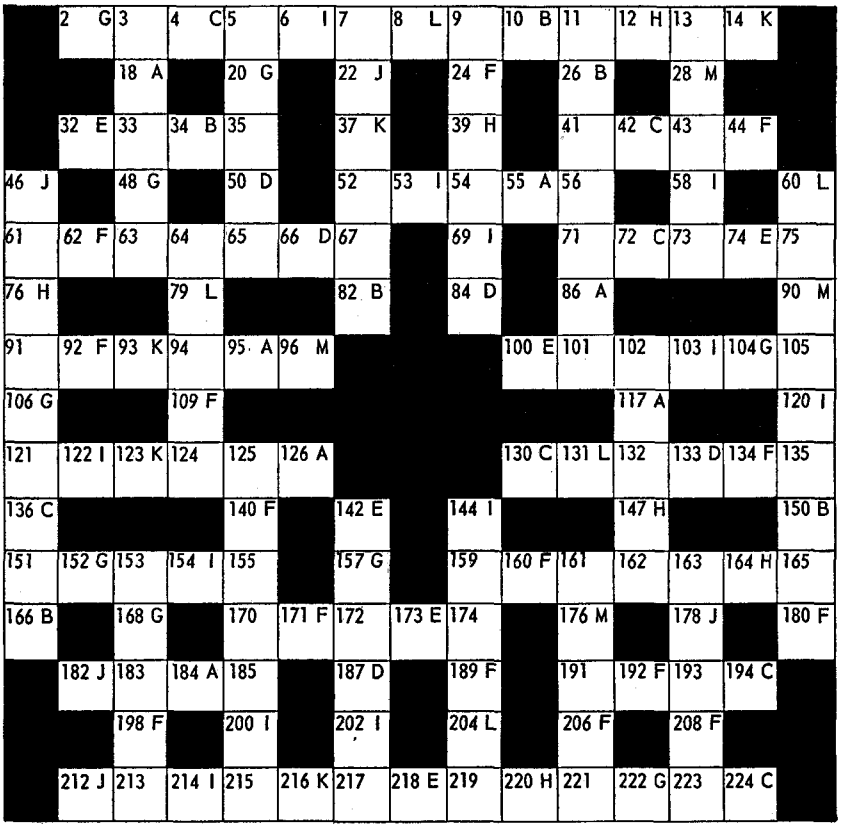
I 154 69 103 6 202 58 200 144 120 214
53 122
Change of granite to marble, cause by pressure.

J 46 178 22 182 212 Stop; cease. (nautical.)

K 37 14 93 123 216 Country between India and Tibet.

L 131 8 79 204 60 Hills or ridges of sand.

M 96 90 176 28
The giant from whose body the gods created the world. (Norse mythology.)



ACROSS

2. Shortly last month Mau Mau slum became best in degree.
32. Break a statue.
41. Charcutier's product up? Cut it.
52. Seats worth having.
61. Hailed an instrument in sad surroundings.
71. My lip will hint the meaning.
91. Bird of prey. So?
100. Keep this on this.
121. Start of 71 Across grows old and shades.
130. I go with Ada to slow music.
151. The personal Id as a subject.
159. Monastery head in first class surroundings evidently based on theory.
170. Teacher not at entertainment that makes one happy.
182. Closed huts in Honshu townships.
191. Plod through devious logarithms.
212. Rare laird torn by random attempt. (5,3,5)

DOWN

3. Saul, you common thing!
5. Met to enjoy polyphonic church music.
7. Northern neighbor is found wound up in a bad anaconda.
9. Ship made and assembled.
11. Let Cain out for the bidding.
13. Added title will make Alley sag.
46. Nova Scotia Sea League.
60. Mystic phones not set for Acrostician's work.
64. You grin and take it down.
102. Algerian cavalryman is up and stirring about fortune.
125. Aircraft for a Greek heroine.
142. Grab me by the front of the head.
144. Little Ed follows a standard, but he's separated.
153. Space drug?
161. Appropriate stair part.
163. Oh, oh! The short book is in the molding.

© 1960 by the Reporter Magazine Company

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

long-range cameras, or maybe cameras of any kind. If they *had* had long-range cameras they would have stayed away up at one hundred thousand feet, and we simply wouldn't have known they were around, watching us.

Now, what could they see from ten thousand feet? Just what I saw when I looked down over Illinois and Iowa, and what millions of people have looked at from airliners. Of course, you'd see rivers, lakes, hills, forests, and so on. But suppose you were a saucerman, trying to make out what kind of a civilization was going on down below. From ten thousand feet you would notice that some of the land is cultivated. You'd notice houses, towns, cities—at any rate, let's say lots of square things like buildings. You'd notice railroads—anyhow, long straight lines, with things (which we know are trains) moving on them. You'd see a lot more straight or straightish lines (which we know are roads) that the saucerman would probably guess were tracks of some sort. Especially as he'd see things moving on them (which we know are automobiles). He'd see more of these things, all of them like beetles of different colors, parked along the roadside or in parking lots. He wouldn't see any people, because they're too tiny to pick out from that height.

Beetles. No people. Doesn't it start to make sense? Here are these saucermen. They wonder who or what on earth is on Earth; and they miss the people. Instead they see beetles—most of them land beetles, plus a few water beetles and a few flying beetles. The flying beetles as big as their whole saucer—pretty alarming! Now here is part of the answer to my second point, about why the majority of the saucers came to look at America. They did so because they found, after maybe a quick look at Russia and Africa and so forth, that there were more beetles and bigger beetles here than anywhere else on the planet. Suppose they looked around the edge of the Great Lakes, on the theory that insects breed on swampy ground. They might have flown over Detroit and thought they had stumbled on the main beetle-breeding place. We know a lot of the saucers seemed fascinated by California. Why? From their angle, because of the high beetle density of California.

So they believe we are a beetle civilization. Now of course that's a crazy idea. But in my opinion, these saucermen are definitely inferior to us in brainpower. We know they are less advanced than we in technology from the fact that they are not equipped for high-altitude air photography. It is also clear that they don't go at things systematically, using properly scientific methods as we would. That's why they made such random visits. They were long-haired about the whole business. They hopped about here and there. They made guesses. They jumped to conclusions. And then they decided they had seen enough. They didn't like us, or what they *thought* was us. They decided they would steer clear of the beetles. So they stopped coming.

You can understand how far wrong they could go, once they got on the wrong trail. Imagine the kind of report the saucermen must have turned in. What did you observe? the debriefing officer wants to know when they arrive back. Beetles, they tell him. Beetles, moving along these curious tracks, some of them going on and on as if unable to stop. Other beetles fussing about on very short distances, coming back always to the same place they started from (we of course would know that was wives, doing the marketing and taking the kids to school). Beetles pouring into certain places in the morning, and all pouring out again in the evening. Beetles jamming themselves in the middle of these places, too crowded to move and seemingly too stupid to find a way out, or to avoid making the same mistake the next day. Beetles seeming to need each other's company—otherwise they wouldn't all stick to the same tracks—and yet not seeming to have anything to do with one another. Beetles getting their food from things like pumps (in this case, of course, they happen to *be* pumps). . . .

Suppose the saucermen asked themselves questions, as they must have done, about the way beetle society works. Who are the bosses? Answer: in some districts the beetles look shinier than in others. Also,

Get to the point!

SAY WHAT YOU MEAN
WITH THE BEST-SELLING GUIDE
TO CLEAR, CONCISE WRITING.

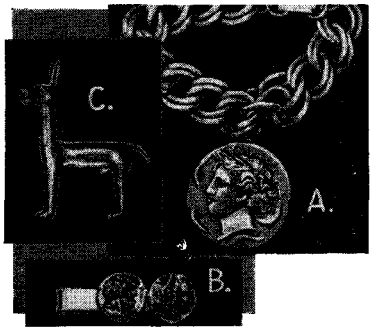
THE ELEMENTS OF STYLE

by Wm. Strunk, Jr., and E. B. White

Your bookseller has it. $2.50

MACMILLAN

Exquisite Museum Replicas



Beauty lives forever. Skilled craftsmen faithfully reproduce each minute detail.

A. COIN BRACELET, Decadrachm, Syracuse 5th Century B. C. Silverplated . . . $3.50

B. TIE CLASP, both sides of Asklepios coin, 200-133 B. C. Originals in Norfolk Museum of Arts and Sciences. Silverplated $2.50

C. LLAMA PIN, 1200-1532 A.D. Original in Museum of Natural History. Silverplated $2.75

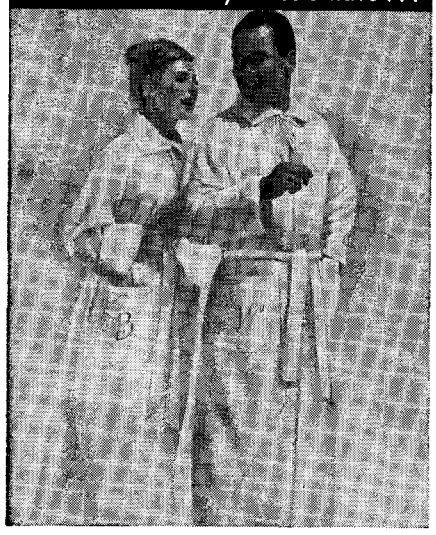
ORDER TODAY! Satisfaction Guaranteed! Add 10% Fed. Tax and 25¢ for postage Free Illustrated Catalogue of Sculpture, prints, jewelry, artbooks, records and lamps with each order. Catalogue alone—25¢.

*FEATURE ARTS Dept. R-1
74 Frost St., Cambridge 40, Mass.

IN CHOOSING CHRISTMAS PRESENTS YOU CAN CONSULT A CRYSTAL BALL . . . OR YOU CAN TURN TO PAGE 49.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the ONE GIFT they DON'T have . . .



MOPPER® *the original "one-size-fits-all"*

TERRY AFTER-BATH ROBE

Here's the great big, wonderful "terry bear" of a robe that towels you dry instantly, cozily after tub, shower or swim! It's a whopper of a Mopper! Tailored of thick, thirsty, snow-white Cannon terry, with yards of comfortable fullness, raglan sleeves, draft-screen collar, tassel tie, wrap-around belt, two big "carry-all" pockets! Personalized with press-on monogram. Fits men, women perfectly. For 6-footers, order king-size, only $1.00 more. Order several: for gifts, for guests, for family! Sorry, no C.O.D.'s.

Gift-ready in clear plastic bag.
Free 3" monogram (specify)
Add 35¢ pstge. each Mopper.

$7.95 ea.
(Save! 2 for $15)

Gift catalog free, on request.

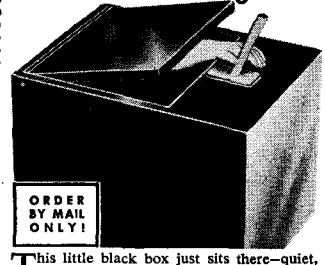
WOODMERE MILLS, INC.
DEPT. C38 BENNINGTON, VERMONT

●●●For Your Office Desk●●●

Mysterious Little Black Box

S-l-o-w-l-y

A Pale Hand Emerges . . . !



This little black box just sits there—quiet, sinister, waiting for you or your visitor to throw the switch on. Then, suddenly it comes to life, with a whir of power—twitching and jumping as if a demented genie were locked inside. Slo-o-o-wly the lid rises. From beneath emerges a pale, clutching hand. The hand grabs the switch, pushes it to "off", quickly disappears back in the box. The lid slams shut. Once again, all is quiet. All, except your shaken friends, many of whom will immediately take the pledge! Be first to own it! Send now. Ideal also for the bar.

Complete with batteries, only **$4.98**
plus 25¢ for postage and handling
Guaranteed to unnerve or money back.
Enclose remittance. Available by mail only from

SPENCER GIFTS FA-4 Spencer Bldg., Atlantic City, N. J.

ANY BOOK

No matter how old or how long out-of-print located by expert staff. "Name the book—we'll find it." Fiction or non-fiction. All authors, subjects. Free search—courteous service—no obligation to buy.

BOOKS-ON-FILE, Dept. REP,
Union City, New Jersey

the big yellow beetles (school busses, if only the saucermen could have figured it out) get treated with special deference by the other bettles, which seem scared too of the beetles that have winking red eyes on top. Why do they like things in straight lines and right angles (the saucermen obviously prefer things round)? No answer to that. Do they fight? Answer: Maybe a saucer saw a collision, and reported that one beetle charged another and they both got quickly dragged off to a kind of beetle cemetery where dead beetles were piled in heaps. So beetles don't behave well toward one another. And they are efficient about getting the dead and dying cleared away because they can't stand looking at damaged beetles.

Suppose the saucermen asked other questions, about what you might call the national purpose of the beetles. Although this is pure speculation, I would guess they would say the beetles have no "values," only "drives." Beetles are compulsive. But what about? Some puzzles here for these saucermen. What is the purpose, for instance, of all the buildings, and who builds them, since you don't see the regular beetles on the job? In a few buildings, some with open sides, the beetles themselves seem to live. But they stay outside most of them, including the big buildings with transparent walls. And there's a beetle stationed outside nearly every small building. What are they up to?

By now the saucermen are way off. They haven't seen *us*, the people. They argue that we must exist, but they get us all confused. They think —I realize the idea is laughable—that the beetles must have some smaller creatures doing the drudgery for them, as a kind of captive slave race. Maybe they even think this smaller slave race might once have been masters of the planet, until the beetles took over—coming out of the Detroit swamps. The saucermen think the beetles are slaveholders. The beetles keep their slaves inside those little buildings, which are really jails; *they* stay outside, on guard in case the slaves try to escape. They probably carry their slaves into the big buildings to work them there like chain gangs. The transparent walls are so that the beetles can keep the slaves under observation. The slaves, under supervision, put up all the big buildings. Some of the buildings, and most of the tracks that cover the country, are actually useless. The beetles have them constructed just to keep the slaves occupied: a bit like the Pyramids. Beetle prestige depends on the number of slaves they own. The more they own, the bigger and shinier the beetle.

I admit that this may all sound farfetched. But I have gone over my argument step by step and I can't feel there is any alternative explanation. To be honest, there is just one. The saucermen might have invented a camera, so that they could now fly at 100,000 feet and with the result that we can't spot them any more. This might explain our U-2 accident. A saucer might have hit it. But that seems unlikely. I don't believe they could have made such technical strides in only a few years.

No, my reasoning is watertight. Everything fits in. It all goes to show how absurdly wrong clever beings like saucermen can get when they jump to conclusions. If I am right, as I firmly believe, then I regret what has happened all the more at a time when so much anti-Americanism is around. In fact it makes me angry, and I am tempted to say to the saucermen that their own civilization cannot be so hot if they get ours so scrambled up. I am even tempted on behalf of all Earthmen to say to them that when we eventually visit their planet we shall either civilize them or blow them out of the sky.

But I don't want to end on a sour note in a period of such world tension. I would rather issue an open invitation to all saucermen to come and visit with me in my home in Kansas City. They will discover that I am no man's slave—and no *thing's* slave. Yes, I have a car outside my house. It takes me into town each day to work. Or maybe that way of describing our relationship leaves the wrong impression. Let's say I take *it* in to work. Not that *it* works; *I* work. Anyhow, just to prove how free I am, next month I'm going to trade it in for another car. Could a car do that to me? Could *it* trade *me* in for another human being? The very notion is ridiculous.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Stephen Crane's Scarlet Woman

ALFRED KAZIN

CORA CRANE, by Lillian Gilkes. *Indiana University Press. $6.75.*

One day in November, 1896, the twenty-five-year-old author of *The Red Badge of Courage* arrived in Jacksonville, Florida, and while waiting for a blockade-running ship to take him across to Cuba, then seething with revolt against the Spaniards, became extremely friendly with the proprietress of a high-class "sporting house." The Hotel de Dream (this sounds like the setting of a play by Tennessee Williams) was not exactly a brothel, and Cora Taylor, who was to live with Crane in England for the last three years of his life as Mrs. Stephen Crane, was certainly not anything like the nature of her business. She had been born in Boston of an extremely good family, and technically at least she was still the wife of a well-known British colonial official whose father was a field marshal and had formerly been commander-in-chief in India. Cora was a cultivated, gifted, and well-bred woman who was soon to move in the company of Henry James, Joseph Conrad, H. G. Wells, and now lesser-known figures like Harold Frederic and Robert Barr. Crane had been her greatest literary admiration before she met him, and afterward they went together as correspondents to the Greek-Turkish War.

Stephen Crane, six years younger than Cora and infinitely more complicated in every respect, was to become the great passion of her life. And whether or not it was her dark past that appealed to the need of something "sinful" in his love affairs, there is no doubt that she was his only wife. Since the whole story of "Mrs. Stephen Crane" has been unwritten until now, Lillian Gilkes's full and sometimes breathlessly detailed biography, which draws on the collection of Crane papers recently acquired by Columbia, will be fascinating to anyone interested in the peculiar genius behind *The Red Badge of Courage* and "The Open Boat." This is the kind of exhaustive biography that really helps us to see people of another epoch —how they lived and what they thought about.

YET the deeper interest of the book lies in the theme of illegitimate passion, of sexual daring—the revolutionary theme of so many novels of the end of the century. Publicly at least, the Victorian repressions were all in force, and the underlying theme of writers like Crane, Norris, and Dreiser was the power of sex. This was exactly the period in which Freud was beginning to work up his first and perhaps most important book, *The Interpretation of Dreams.* The timid and thus infinitely suggestive treatment of sex that Henry James would soon get into novels like *The Ambassadors* and *The Golden Bowl* now marks the same revolt as Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* and Crane's obsessive concern with prostitutes in his early stories. Yet in a society still externally dominated by anxious middle-class prudery, the concern with sex was more challenging than social radicalism. The Socialists, already outside respectable society, had nothing to lose by threatening to overturn it; but there were writers of reputation who by dealing frankly with sex challenged the class that had established and now supported them.

This was true of Crane, who could not live with Cora in America; even in England, to which they went, George Gissing "reaped the social punishments meted out to those entering into a union outside wedlock"; H. G. Wells and Ford Madox Ford had their troubles. The American novelist and *Times* correspondent Harold Frederic, unable to get a divorce from his wife, lived openly with another woman and their children, and after Frederic's death, many leading English writers put up a special fight to get his common-law wife recognized as his lawful

A Change and a Parting

By Barbara Yambura / Eunice Bodine

Anna . . .

tells the story of her beloved communal community, the seven Amana villages in Iowa. A vibrant, authentic account of a significant social experiment. *$3.95*

Adam . . .

died, historically, as the myth of the static creation yielded to an evolutionary view. A superb book for you intrigued by the origin and development of intellectual ideas.

"... carefully documented..."
"... lavishly illustrated..."
"... eminently readable..."
"... brilliant..." *$4.95*

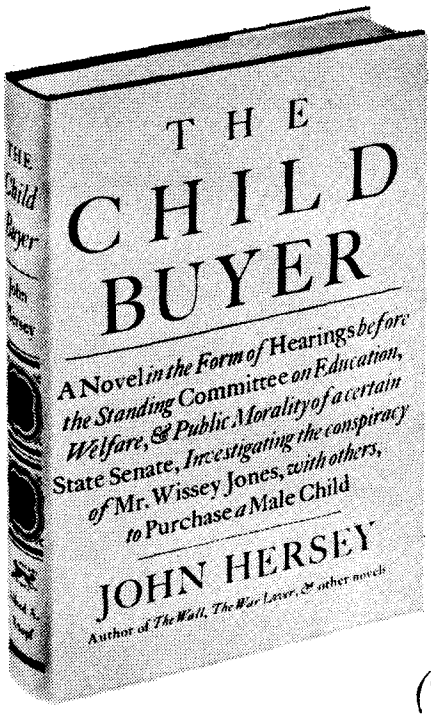
The Death of Adam
By John Greene

Attendez, chefs!
Easy-On-The-Cook Book

Elegant food from simple recipes covering all dining occasions. *$3.50*

IOWA STATE university press
AMES, iowa

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


THE
CHILD
BUYER
A Novel in the Form of Hearings before the Standing Committee on Education, Welfare, & Public Morality of a certain State Senate, Investigating the conspiracy of Mr. Wissey Jones, with others, to Purchase a Male Child
JOHN HERSEY

FREE

John Hersey's brilliant, bitter new novel – his indictment of American education

($4 at your bookstore)

Clifton Fadiman: *"It will infuriate many.... To those able to stomach strong meat I commend it."*

Margaret Halsey: *"May well deserve to be ranked alongside Zola's* J'Accuse *or Swift's* A Modest Proposal.... *More than one reader is going to think what a pity it is that the author is not running for President."*

THE NEW REPUBLIC offers you a FREE copy of *The Child Buyer*, along with a 15-week, trial subscription to America's finest journal of opinion – for $3.75

A $7.75 VALUE - $3.75 TO YOU

Order your copy today!

THE NEW REPUBLIC R-C-11
1244 – 19th St., N.W. Washington 6, D. C.

Enter my 15-week trial subscription to *The New Republic* for $3.75 and send promptly my free copy of THE CHILD BUYER.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE....STATE.....

☐ $3.75 enclosed

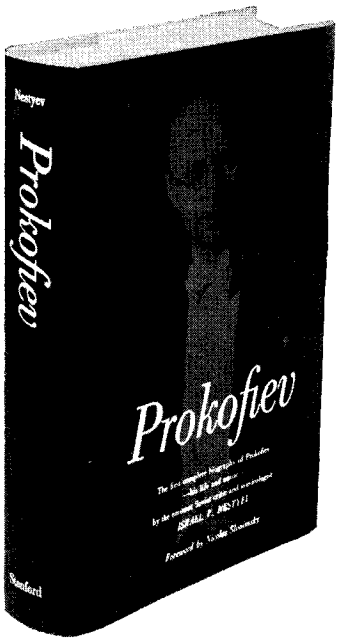
heir. This was the golden age of "the line," the cocotte, the "fast" woman, the private room at fashionable restaurants—all of which, now translated from Colette's *Gigi* as words by Lerner and music by Loewe, seems as quaint to us as George Washington at his cherry tree. But many an innocent was helpfully made wicked by the self-righteous respectability of the times. When Cora first came to New York to live with an aunt, "nice" girls did not stay unchaperoned in New York, and the better-class boardinghouses "let in" no one without an introduction. Miss Gilkes has discovered that "In New York in the 1880's, a woman could be arrested for appearing in public 'red in the face.'"

JUDGE NOW the effect that a woman of real individuality and unquestioned experience would have on Stephen Crane's timid relatives in Port Jervis, New York. As it happened, Crane and Cora could live in England—Crane always brought out the most amazing devotion and admiration in writers like James, Conrad, Wells, and Kipling; even the timid William Dean Howells always championed him. The really "advanced" and gifted people were all enthusiastic about Crane. It is significant that Cora herself appealed to many of these people as well. It is impossible to say how many of them knew about the Hotel de Dream, but it was also typical of the great company in which Crane moved that they admired her for herself as well as for her boundless devotion to Crane.

The exception *would* be Henry James. Whether it was rumors of Cora's "dark past" or his usual snobbery, it is a fact that James seems to have been as covertly hostile to Cora as he was solicitously admiring of Crane himself. An American friend of Crane's reported that he "had to hear a great deal from some English friends about Mr. Henry James and his intense sufferings when he had to 'endure' Mrs. Crane. Maybe! I do know that he came bowling over from Rye one day with a carriage load of people, all stuffed shirts, and announced that he had brought them to lunch. Mrs. Crane was mad as a hornet, but did not show it. She vanished into the kitchen and con-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prokofiev



by Israel V. Nestyev

With a Foreword by Nicolas Slonimsky

The first complete biography of Prokofiev in English, this is certain to be the standard work on Prokofiev and his music for many years to come. Contains detailed musical analyses of all major and most minor works, and information of Prokofiev's personal life not available elsewhere. Profusely illustrated with photographs and musical examples. Complete list of works. $8.75

The South Sea Bubble

JOHN CARSWELL

A vivid account of the greatest financial crisis and public scandal in English history. Few historical events can claim such a colorful gallery of villains, eccentrics, and fools. Illustrated. $5.50

The Cross and the Fasces

RICHARD A. WEBSTER

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM IN ITALY. The first full-length study in English of the background and history of the Italian Christian Democratic party, one of the mainstays of the Western alliance. $5.00

The New Nigerian Elite

HUGH H. SMYTHE
and MABEL M. SMYTHE

A timely study of the leaders of the new nation of Nigeria—who they are, how they live, how they attained their positions of power, what values they hold. $5.00

Central Planning in Czechoslovakia

JAN M. MICHAL

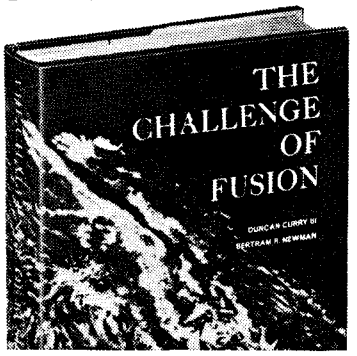
ORGANIZATION FOR GROWTH IN A MATURE ECONOMY. An analysis of the Czechoslovak economy during the first decade of Communist control. $5.75

Order from your bookstore, please

STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

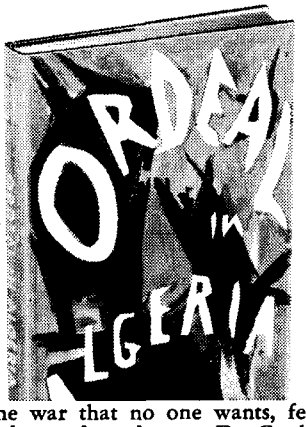
Whither the *peaceful* atom?



The greatest creative challenge of man's future lies in the *non*-military atom. In this vitally important book, two men intimately concerned with the applications of thermonuclear energy explain exactly what it is, what it can do, and how it will affect the nation, industry, the home, and the individual.

The Challenge of Fusion
By Duncan Curry III and Bertram R. Newman
Illustrated • $5.50 at all bookstores
D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC.
Princeton, New Jersey

Algeria—
Free or French?



The war that no one wants, few understand, and even De Gaulle cannot stop is here explored in all its baffling complexity. The arguments of an embarrassed France, her embattled colonists, and the embittered Muslims are all set forth in detail, and the brutal acts and sinister machinations of *all* parties are revealed in all their futile horror.

Ordeal in Algeria
By Richard and Joan Brace
$4.95 at all bookstores
D. VAN NOSTRAND COMPANY, INC.
Princeton, New Jersey

cocted a lot of extra lunch in a chafing dish." My own suspicion is that James, whose imagination was so much stronger than his experience—it had to be—could not stand so vital a woman. The more intensely repressed he felt, the more oily in his pomposity he became. Harold Frederic said flatly that James was an "effeminate old donkey who lives with a herd of other donkeys around him and insists on being treated as if he were the Pope." One of the incidental pleasures of reading so fully detailed an account of literary life sixty years ago is that we can see James's affectations minus the rosy hue that has been conferred on all of James's doings by our revival of his work. Even the actual rewards of reading James have been misrepresented as more significant than they really are. James never engages life at any really critical level; fundamentally, he is more concerned with the rich textures of life than with the shoals and abysses of human conflict. Despite his extraordinary gifts as a verbal artist, there is an essential heaviness of spirit to him, an inordinate pessimism, that speaks of complete sexual repression. The vitality that comes with personal hope was missing from James's later work, and the reason, I believe, was his inability to champion the instincts even as a symbol of social revolt against the middle classes who had made a cult of virtuousness.

ACTUALLY, many of the really good novelists of the period were concerned with the "primitive" instincts and the "lower" classes who were identified with these instincts. Crane was driven to seek out life on the lower East Side and on the Bowery. (He called the Bowery his old "university," and someone at Constance Garnett's thought he was referring to a school of fine arts.) His importance lies not only in those few works of his which completely come off, like "The Open Boat," but in his constantly seeking the primitive facts, the forbidden places, the dangerous people. Crane always got on badly with popular idols of the time like Richard Harding Davis, "the dandified idol of college youth," as Miss Gilkes calls him, "who deemed the author of *Maggie* and the Bowery tales a gifted but unwashed lunatic, a boor with suicidal proclivities and unfortunate leanings toward low associations." And as Crane himself said to an old friend, "Of course I am admittedly a savage. I have been known as docile from time to time but only under great social pressure."

Crane, worn out with trying to support by hack work the immense establishment he and Cora kept up in England, died at twenty-eight of tuberculosis. Cora tried to finish some of his works herself, but unable to market them sucessfully or to get any money from Crane's relatives, went back to Jacksonville. Yes, and opened another house, the Court. In 1905 she married a man younger than herself, who eventually murdered another man in a jealous rage over her. She helped get him off, but he divorced her. She died in 1910, aged forty-five. A car had got stuck in the mud, and when she saw it, she rushed up to help pull it out. She died that day.

Old Soldiers Never Die

ROBERT P. KNAPP, JR.

KOREA AND THE FALL OF MACARTHUR: A PRECIS IN LIMITED WAR, by Trumbull Higgins. *Oxford University Press. $5.*

Some future chronicler, perhaps, may be able to invest the downfall of Douglas MacArthur with the same drama that the general attempted to create in all of his public acts. On the evidence of this book the task will be a difficult one, not likely to be undertaken soon by a serious student of military or political affairs.

For one thing, as Trumbull Higgins justly observes, ". . . Douglas MacArthur was equally famous for the arrogance of his demeanor and his language in a society too profoundly plebeian to bear well with either."

A more fundamental obstacle to the portrayal of MacArthur as a tragic figure in the episode of his recall lies in the nature of the Korean War and particularly in this na-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion's attitude toward it. At the end of his book, in a passage likely to please neither the general's partisans nor his detractors, Mr. Higgins concludes: ". . . the [Truman] Administration's disinclination to fight a larger war in Asia in the name of avoiding a rather improbable general war everywhere lacked candor. Of course, here the Administration was fighting for its life against its political opponents in the Republican party, who, with equal or greater dishonesty, were simultaneously exploiting both MacArthur's desire for an extended war in Asia and the public longing for no war at all."

Here, one suspects, is the dilemma that must confront the United States, regardless of who constitutes the administration and who the opposition, for unforeseeable years to come. As long as we lack both the means and the inclination to embark upon a general war, no satisfactory answer will be possible to the question of the extent to which we should go in countering armed excursions against those who have a claim on our support. The problem has been clearly recognized at least since the 1950 invasion of South Korea, if not earlier in Greece and Berlin. In this scholarly, definitive, and highly readable work, Trumbull Higgins does not pretend to offer an answer. What he has done, and done most precisely, is to demonstrate why in a situation like Korea neither the adminstration nor its opposition would be able to adopt a position either clear-cut or candid.

This is by no means to say that Mr. Higgins finds General MacArthur to have been the hapless victim of circumstance. However the general may be assessed, it is unlikely in the extreme that he will ever be cast in that particular role. Using MacArthur's own words exhaustively, Mr. Higgins shows that the general deliberately and calculatedly involved himself in the political issues above the military sphere. That, too, is not apt to surprise either MacArthur's adherents or his critics. Where the author of this study has gone beyond the commonly known and understood aspects of MacArthur's recall is in showing that at the time the general was by no means sure of the bases for his own position and consequently could not

This is probably the last man who will ever see the inside of your KLH speaker system.

KLH RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
30 CROSS STREET, CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

Descriptive literature, with the name of your nearest franchised KLH dealer, is available on request.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For a "better reading" training program, more and more administrators are turning to

HARVARD UNIVERSITY READING FILMS

and other materials of the *Harvard University Reading Course*, prepared by William G. Perry, Jr., and Charles P. Whitlock.

Widely used in educational institutions, government, and industry throughout the English-speaking world, including:

G. H. Henderson, Columbia-Geneva Steel Division, San Francisco

Polaroid Corporation, Cambridge, Mass.

Nationwide Insurance, Syracuse, New York

Nationwide Insurance, Columbus, Ohio

Shearson, Hammill & Company, New York, New York

National Aeronautics & Space Administration, Cleveland, Ohio

Human Engineering Laboratory, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Bell Telephone Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Whitehead Brothers, Del Rio, Texas

Brooke Army Medical Center, Fort Sam Houston, Texas

Set of 17 films and Instructor's Manual, $275.00. Also available: Comprehension Checks for Reading Films; Selections for Improving Speed of Comprehension; Tests. Prices on Request.

For Complete Details
MAIL THIS COUPON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS Dept. R-11
79 Garden St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

GENTLEMEN: I am interested in the **Harvard University Reading Films,** and the supplementary material. Please send me as soon as possible further information including a price list, a **Teacher's Manual,** a demonstration film, and examination copies of **Comprehension Checks for the Reading Films,** and **Selections for Improving Speed of Comprehension** with **Test A, Test B,** and **Test C.**

Name.....

Address.....

I am connected with.....

and did not offer his political superiors any reasonable ground for adopting the course he proposed.

In a statement whose candor MacArthur's supporters may question, former President Truman remarked in 1958 that it was "too bad the General didn't have a good political adviser" and went on to say that he would have advised the general if consulted. Which brings us back to the character of the man himself. As Mr. Higgins notes, MacArthur had enjoyed in 1951 a military career of unparalleled success, leaving him no aspiration short of the Presidency. He had already found President Franklin Roosevelt at fault in that he "acted as if he were the directing head of the Army and Navy." This objection stands in sharp contrast to a more orthodox definition of the military position of the Chief Executive that he wrote in 1932: "The national strategy of any war—that is, the selection of national objectives and the determination of the general means and methods to be applied in attaining them, as well as the development of the broad policies applicable to the prosecution of war—are decisions that must be made by the head of State acting in conformity with the expressed will of Congress."

Yet after his relief in 1951, MacArthur could find "No proposition . . . more dangerous . . ." than "that the members of our armed forces owe primary alliance and loyalty to those who temporarily exercise the authority of the executive branch of the government . . ." Mr. Higgins cites Grant, Pershing, Marshall, and Eisenhower as generals who under circumstances as trying as MacArthur's had adhered to the doctrine expressed in *MacArthur on War* in 1932.

This was the temper and outlook of MacArthur in 1951 when he publicly advocated carrying the war to China proper and bringing in Chiang Kai-shek's troops against the expressed policy of the administration and over its directive of December 6, 1950, to the effect that important public statements of theater commanders must be checked through Washington. One next asks what MacArthur had done prior to his climactic public statements to acquaint his superiors with his views and to persuade them of the soundness of the course he favored.

The issue, it will be remembered, was not primarily the military effectiveness of bombing north of the Yalu River and otherwise carrying the war to China itself, but whether such operations would result in active Russian intervention in the war with a resulting world conflict. MacArthur maintained that they would not and insisted that the defeat of China would effectively undermine the entire Communist bloc. The question, of course, will never be resolved. As previously noted, Mr. Higgins is skeptical of the administration's professed fears. On the other hand, the possibility was one that could hardly be dismissed and moreover was one that deeply concerned our European allies. It was incumbent upon General MacArthur to present both his military and civil superiors with compelling evidence of the sound basis for his conclusion. Mr. Higgins makes a compelling and devastating case against MacArthur. Quotation after quotation discloses the inadequacy of MacArthur's military intelligence and the uncertainty of his own views.

Before the final episode of his military career in April, 1951, MacArthur had survived intelligence fiascoes that would have been professionally fatal to a commander of lesser stature. The causes for MacArthur's air force being caught on the ground in the Philippines in 1941 are still debated. Although Korea was not in his theater at the outbreak of the war in 1950, MacArthur in 1949 had declared the withdrawal of American forces from that peninsula to be justified on the basis of the strength of the South Korean Army. On October 15, 1950, MacArthur personally assured President Truman that there was very little chance of Chinese intervention and that it would be ineffective if it happened. At the end of October, his intelligence chief declared that the "auspicious time" for Chinese intervention had "long since passed." The Chinese entered the Korean War on November 1, 1950.

Even after the Chinese had crossed the Yalu and attacked our forces in North Korea, our army was or-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dered to continue to advance in a "reconnaisance in force" that further dispersed it and deprived it of the ability to mass to meet the Chinese. MacArthur's intelligence at this time estimated Chinese forces in Korea at from 25,000 to 76,000, whereas they actually numbered 300,000. Following the disastrous rout of the American army in northern Korea by the Chinese in November and December, 1950, MacArthur was to say: "The disposition of those troops [U.N.], in my opinion, could not have been improved upon had I known the Chinese were going to attack."

This, then, was MacArthur's intelligence record in the period immediately preceding his final dispute with Washington. The author's documentation and careful analysis do not incline the reader to question his accuracy. The number of quotations and the many sources relied upon as well as the history of the events themselves make the possibility of effective rebuttal remote. The general's conviction that a world conflict would not result from an expansion of the Korean operations to China could hardly have inspired confidence in Washington, in the light of the performance of his own military intelligence.

Moving on to Douglas MacArthur's knowledge of the world situation, Trumbull Higgins presents an even more startling picture. In 1948 he had informed a Congressional committee that he was "not in a position to render authoritative advice" on Chinese problems. After his relief, he told the Senate committee that he did not "pretend to be an authority" on "global defense" and asked not to be involved "in anything except my own area." When asked where "the source and brains" of the Communist conspiracy were, MacArthur's initial answer to the Senate committee was, "How would I know?" Opposed to MacArthur's confessed unfamiliarity with problems outside his own area was the unanimous judgment of his military superiors, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that this country would risk a world conflict for which it was not prepared.

Mr. Higgins's book, like his earlier *Winston Churchill and the Second Front,* is a tightly written, concise, and well-organized analysis of a fascinating and significant episode in history. Like his previous study, it is not an account of military operations but of the ultimate politico-military decisions that determine strategy and of the ultimate personal and partisan considerations upon which those decisions rest. The book's implications and conclusions, which are closely reasoned and sparingly reached, go beyond the men and the times with which the author deals.

Twelve Years Of Terror

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH: A HISTORY OF NAZI GERMANY, by William L. Shirer. *Simon and Schuster. $10.*

This book arrived earlier this autumn for review just as I was starting out on a political whistle-stop tour that was to include, in the end, California, Michigan, Iowa, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont. (In this year of the egghead, the speakers' bureau of the Democratic National Committee had been under strong pressure for what one of its members had called, perhaps a little ambiguously, "very high-level rabble-rousing.") Although initially I was a little concerned about the weight of the book, especially as I was well laden with material on the life and times of Richard Nixon, I found it a superb companion. Mr. Shirer is better than competent as a writer. There was no danger that one would finish it quickly and have nothing to read but the San Diego *Union.* And nothing could serve better to keep American politics in perspective.

Like many others, I never found the early campaign tactics of Mr. Nixon ingratiating. Some of them were clearly outside the democratic rules. We have had to contend, from time to time, with people like Huey Long and Joe McCarthy who had nothing but contempt for the rules. Sometimes, as in the opposition to

TREAT Your TASTE
TO THESE
rare TEAS
Canisters
1 lb ½ lb
Darjeeling $2.85 $1.50
India Blend 2.60 1.38
Fancy Flowery Ceylon 3.15 1.65
Assam 3.00 1.58
English Breakfast 2.65 1.40
Imperial Russian Style 3.05 1.60
Irish Style 2.90 1.53
Smoky Lapsang Souchong 4.00 2.08
Smoky Special Mixture. (Earl Grey Style) 3.75 1.95
Pinhead Gunpowder 2.80 1.48
Young Hyson 2.90 1.53
Green P. F. Japan 2.55 1.35
Uncolored B. F. Japan 2.55 1.35
Formosa Oolong 2.95 1.55
Jasmine 3.95 2.05
Mixed Bl.-Gr.-Oolong 2.70 1.43
Discover your favorite among these exotic teas—ACCLAIMED by CONNOISSEURS and FOOD EDITORS the COUNTRY OVER for distinctive flavor and heart-warming satisfaction.
SPECIAL!
CARAVEL "Taste Test" ASSORTMENT
Here is an "Adventure in Flavor" for Tea lovers. 16 gold-lacquered trial-size tins of all the above listed Teas—10 to 12 cupfuls in each.
Only $2.95
Individual Tins.....25c ea.
A GRAND GIFT! Your gift orders handled carefully and handsomely packaged on request. No extra charge. Satisfaction guaranteed.
29th YEAR
"Serving America's Finest Families"
CARAVEL COFFEE CO.
37-60—77th St. Dept. A
Jackson Heights 72, L.I., N.Y.

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #19

Acrostician—

POPE JOHN XXIII

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Guards your safety with golden glamour!

SEE-BRELLA™

*The **original** "picture-window" umbrella*

You look **through**, not under, this glamorous new "picture-window" umbrella, when rainy winds blow! Its high-fashion, golden styling dresses up any outfit, and the strong, heavy-gauge, crystal-clear vinyl shakes dry instantly, no soggy drip. This beautiful SEE-BRELLA has 10-rib golden-finish steel frame, gold-color binding, gleaming golden-flecked plastic handle, your choice of gold press-on personalizing initial. Even has handy rain bonnet in pouch on handle chain! Light, yet sturdy. Order several for gifts, for yourself. Specify initial. Sorry, no C.O.D.s. Gift catalog free on request.

Exclusively— **$4.95** (Add 35c each for postage.)

BRADFORD'S, INC.

Dept. C 255 Queen Anne Road, Bogota, N. J.

SINCE THE VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS, the Caribbean has played a strategic role in world history, economics, and politics. The first symposium on problems of research in this distinctive West Indian society was organized at the meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1956. The papers and discussions held at this symposium, which present the framework of most current research in the area, are now available as

CARIBBEAN STUDIES

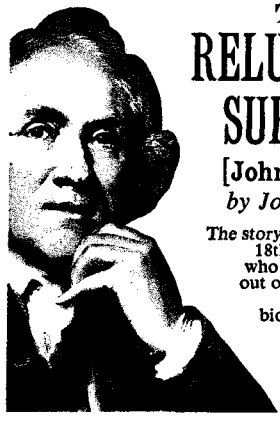
A Symposium; edited by Vera Rubin

$3.00 at your bookseller, or

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS

SEATTLE 5

You'll enjoy meeting



THE RELUCTANT SURGEON

[John Hunter]

by John Kobler

The story of the eccentric 18th-century genius who brought surgery out of the Dark Ages

"Fluent, zestful biography."—*Time*

$4.95 at all booksellers

DOUBLEDAY

McCarthy, there has been an excessively scrupulous willingness to allow someone else to take the initiative. Yet one cannot read this book without realizing how superficial and frothy are our derelictions from democratic decency and how great, by contrast with the Germans of the 1930's, is our manifestation of civic courage and responsibility. This is the story of an episode in political perversion so deep as to be simply unimaginable in our terms. One still cannot imagine it after he emerges from this vast book.

SCHOLARS WILL, I suspect, have their quarrels with Shirer. They will wonder why some parts of the history are told in detail and others in only the sketchiest outline. There is quite a bit on the Norwegian campaign, for example, and almost nothing on the Italian campaign. The Battle of Britain gets much more attention than the Normandy landings and invasion, although both have been well covered in previous histories. Almost everyone will have his individual quarrel. Thus, I found Mr. Shirer seriously inadequate in his treatment of Germany's preparation for war. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht was not the financial genius he implies; on the whole, as Burton Klein has shown, his insights into the German economic problem were inferior to those of Hitler, and in the management of German rearmament he probably did more harm than good. Mr. Shirer mentions but does not deal with Germany's drastic undermobilization in the early (and even in the later) war years. He scarcely mentions the efforts of Albert Speer, one of the more interesting figures in the Third Reich, to deal with these deficiencies. And he omits all mention of Hitler's drastic intervention in arms production.

Hitler prided himself on his knowledge of ordnance, which was not inconsiderable. But he used it for *ad hoc* intervention which was often disastrous. Thus, production of the world's first effective jet fighter was held up for months because Hitler wanted not a defensive but an offensive weapon and asked that it be converted into a light bomber.

Yet there is no sin either of omission or commission in this volume which is not forgivable. Mr. Shirer has worked on endless piles of German material with much diligence. He selects and publishes from them with skill; there is an excellent documentary quality about the book. And in appraising and using these records, he has a nearly unique background as a firsthand observer and diarist. Also, although conceivably this may win him criticism from some, he is blessed by passion. In his years in Germany he came to hate Hitler and his whole kit and caboodle. The years have not dimmed this hatred. On the contrary, as he has dug into the records —the ghastly documents of the *Einsatzgruppen* and the *Vernichtungslager*—he has found depths of horror which he had not previously imagined. The régime was the indiscriminate enemy of all humanity. Himmler's "final solution" for the Jews at Auschwitz was, in its own way, only a little more terrible than Hitler's insistence on the butchery of his own Aryans at Stalingrad or of the little boys of the Hitler Jugend in the last days in Berlin when the sole purpose was to allow the Führer to live for a few more hours.

From Beowulf To Mr. Eliot

GEORGE STEINER

A CRITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, by David Daiches. Two volumes. *Ronald Press. $12.50.*

English literature can make claims that only classic Greek literature can match. Its history spans thirteen hundred years, yet there runs through that great period of time a commanding unity of language and spirit. With some small effort, the modern reader can learn the speech of Chaucer; even Old English is not unrecapturably remote; its strong pulse beats in our present usage.

And because the stream of language has moved unbroken, intact from those disasters of internecine chaos or foreign domination that have cut across other cultures, English literature has known a rare

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIGNIFICANT BOOKS
FROM WASHINGTON SQUARE

ISLAMIC LAW IN THE MODERN WORLD
by J. N. D. Anderson

"This clear and precise work constitutes an excellent general view of one of the most pressing problems of the Muslim world."—*Henri Laoust,* ***The Middle East Journal*** **$3.00**

THE PRESIDENT: OFFICE AND POWERS
by Edward S. Corwin

"...distinguished for its thorough discussion of every conceivable facet...yields to none in competence, authoritative exposition and critical judgment."—Joseph F. Costanzo, S. J., **University of Detroit Journal** **$6.50**

CONGRESS: ITS CONTEMPORARY ROLE
by Ernest S. Griffith

"...some fundamental rules of political science that no previous book or combination of books has offered...his examination of executive-congressional relations is outstanding."—**Civic Leader** **$3.50**

ORGANIZING PEACE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE
by Arthur N. Holcombe, Chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace

The most recent report to the American people of the findings and conclusions of some of our most distinguished scientists and scholars. **$3.75**

THE ECONOMICS OF TRUSTEESHIP IN SOMALIA
by Mark Karp

"...a balanced factual analysis of the economy of one of the newest of African states...relevant to any consideration of economic planning for other areas of Africa."—Mary Darrah Herrick, **Library Journal** **$4.50**

THE STRUGGLE TO UNITE EUROPE, 1940-1958
by Arnold J. Zurcher

"...what he writes about is of great significance for what we have come to call the Free World."—Maximillian Koessler, **American Bar Association Journal** **$5.00**

SOURCES OF OUR LIBERTIES: Documentary Origins of Individual Liberties in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights
edited by Richard L. Perry

"...a thrilling experience for even the casual reader...a truly noteworthy compilation."—W. F. Zacharias, **Chicago-Kent Law Review** **$5.00**

THE SUPREME COURT IN MODERN ROLE
by Carl Brent Swisher

"Like all of Mr. Swisher's writings, the present volume is marked by thoughtful analysis, clarity of expression, and a gracious literary style."—Robert J. Harris, **Southwestern Social Science Quarterly** **$4.95**

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION: Its Principles and Practice
edited by Louis W. Koenig

"...a 'conspectus' of the Truman administration by means of selected documents. And an admirable and informing selection it is..."—**New York Times** **$5.00**

ILLINOIS POLITICS by Austin Ranney

NEW YORK POLITICS
by Ralph A. Straetz and Frank J. Munger

WASHINGTON POLITICS
by Daniel M. Ogden, Jr. and Hugh A. Bone

Three authoritative guides to state politics, sponsored by The Citizenship Clearing House **$1.25** each, paper

NATIONALISM IN COLONIAL AFRICA
by Thomas Hodgkin

"...a penetrating analysis of colonial policies and African nationalism by one of the foremost authorities in the field."—**Current History** **$3.25; $1.75** paper

THE BRITISH WEST INDIES
by Morley Ayearst

An examination of the problems of emergent self-government in a multiracial colony. The only political study of The British West Indies to appear in recent years. **$5.00**

At your favorite bookstore or use this order form

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS
WASHINGTON SQUARE

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS
32 Washington Place, New York 3

Please send me a copy of:

_____

_____

_____

to examine for 10 days free; after which I will either remit the purchase price, plus postage, or I will return the book(s) and owe nothing.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEN AND MOVEMENTS

Exciting new series about political and social nonconformists in America and the controversial minority movements which they led.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, LIBERAL OF THE 1920's

D. Joy Humes

The most outspoken liberal of his day and the causes he fought for as an individual and as editor of *The Nation.*

November $4.50

HENRY A. WALLACE: QUIXOTIC CRUSADE 1948

Karl M. Schmidt

The blow-by-blow account of the Wallace Progressive Party and of one of the strangest presidential campaigns in our history.

November $5.50

Order now from your bookseller

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS

SYRACUSE 10, NEW YORK

continuity of voice. The note so clearly struck in a fourteenth-century lyric—

"Bytuene Mershe and Averil
When spray biginneth to springe,
The lutel foul hath hire wyl
On hyre lud to synge"—

deepens into the sensuous lyricism of the Elizabethans; it sounds at the heart of Romantic poetry; we hear it again in Browning—

"The champaign with its endless fleece
Of feathery grasses everywhere!
Silence and passion, joy and peace,
An everlasting wash of air"—

and it is with us yet, in Yeats and Pound and Eliot. The motifs that are essential to Anglo-Saxon poetry —the landscape as ironic or concordant background to human feeling, the encircling life of the sea, the "battles long ago"—these have never ceased to incite the genius of the language.

ONLY English literature, moreover, has shown supreme power in all major literary genres. This is a remarkable fact. Neither French nor German literature can boast an epic poem of the first rank. Italian literature has been notoriously weak in drama. After Cervantes, the spark of life seems to go out of Spanish fiction. Russian literature, perhaps unexcelled in the realistic novel, has little to show in the realm of epic or tragedy. Milton stands beside Homer, Virgil, and Dante. Shakespeare gave to drama its several summits. Fielding, Dickens, Thackeray, Jane Austen, Hardy, Conrad, D. H. Lawrence, Joyce form a galaxy of novelists nearly unmatched for talent and variousness of vision. From Sir Thomas Wyatt to Tennyson, from the anonymous master of "Sir Patrick Spens" to Yeats, English lyric and narrative verse can be set against any in the world for depth of meaning and music.

Sheltered by sea and statecraft, England gave its writers a rich, autonomous legacy of conduct, a tradition of community, long periods of social stability. Only a society at once various and unified, flexible enough to absorb new styles and ideas from abroad yet deeply rooted in native ground, adventurous yet ancient in its ways, could have produced those miracles of ordered emotion that we find in Shakespeare, in the style of the King James Bible, and in Milton. Without the sense of a society long ripened and articulate in its values, *Tom Jones, Pride and Prejudice, Bleak House, Vanity Fair,* or *Women in Love* could not have been written. Across the landscape of English letters there falls neither a Thirty Years' War—a disaster that crippled the development of the German language—nor the kind of irreconcilable divisions of religious or political feeling that have occurred in French and Russian history. Hence, successive generations of English poets have felt behind them the sustaining and quickening impulse of coherent tradition. And even now, where England may be on the wane, the English language seems to be inheriting much of the earth and American literature is fully launched.

For any one man to make inventory of this vast and live inheritance is a formidable venture. The very attempt suggests the more leisured authority of nineteenth-century scholarship. It is the kind of task undertaken by Taine, Jusserand, and Saintsbury. We are specialists now and demand of scholarship the powers of narrowness. These were sternly exhibited in the massive *Literary History of England* published by Professor Albert C. Baugh and four eminent colleagues in 1948. The leviathan bristles with footnotes; all graduate students drag it with them on their wanderings.

DAVID DAICHES brings to his gigantic task the advantages of an unusual background and range of experience. He is the son of the senior rabbi of Edinburgh, has spent many years teaching in the United States, and is now at Cambridge. He is aiming at something different from his compendious predecessors: *A Critical History,* with the emphasis on *critical.* The kind of balance he is striving for is defined, in another context, by Yvor Winters: "I do not believe the history of literature can be grasped unless one has a critical understanding of it; but it seems to me equally obvious that a

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critical understanding is frequently impossible unless one knows a great deal of history." Both with respect to judgment and to knowledge, Mr. Daiches has come very near to the implicit goal. His two-volume work is an extraordinary feat.

Its brisk narrative takes us from the "pagan seriousness" of *Beowulf* to the new "emotional rhythm" of *Women in Love*. There are swift-moving surveys of great tracts of ground: "Drama from Jonson to the Closing of the Theatres," "The Novel from Richardson to Jane Austen"; there are closely argued chapters on single figures or literary movements, such as the studies of Shakespeare, of Milton, and of Scottish literature until and after 1700. These could stand as small books in themselves. What is striking is how often Daiches finds something new or searching to say about authors already enshrined in established judgment or buried in the dust of unread fame. I can cite only a few examples.

How apt the choice of the two epithets "brooding" and "congested" is to the style of Chapman; how right it is to say that Vaughan has "the mystic's matter-of-factness." Daiches is suggesting something novel and important when he describes Hobbes as filling a vacuum left by the decay of medieval thought. There is real critical acumen in his passing remark that Restoration lyrics have in them the

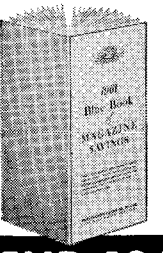
beat of the dance, whereas Elizabethan and Caroline lyricism is that of song. He cites *Childe Harold* and observes Byron's unique ability to combine in a single image the passionate with the elegiac. Much of Carlyle is hit off in a single phrase: "prophetic murk."

Most arresting of all is Daiches's ability to look at the familiar classics as if encounter with them were new. His treatment of Shakespeare has an attractive ease; he steps back from the colossus and is able to see things unencumbered by the vast debris of previous judgment. Macbeth "is destroyed by the evil he does," but he "does not let down the human species in his manner of facing that destruction"; *Antony and Cleopatra* is the "most spacious" of Shakespeare's tragedies "and in a sense the most relaxed"; Coriolanus looks on common men as "an aggregate of foul-smelling changeableness." And the entire discussion of Milton—who is, I suspect, Daiches's ideal of the poet—is instinct with the same freshness and directness. His remark that there is in Milton's depiction of nature before the Fall "a tremulous glory" sends us back to the text.

NATURALLY, one cannot agree everywhere with Daiches's choice or emphasis. Often the sheer speed of his survey brings with it a certain distortion. In reference to Lovelace, for example, no mention is made of "La Bella Bona Roba," one of the most powerful short poems in the language; the brief account of Walter Savage Landor is quite inadequate; no mention is made of Henry Kingsley, though *Ravenshoe* is finer work than anything produced by his more renowned brother Charles; Byron's late dramas, with their modernistic techniques, are hardly alluded to. Sometimes, the view of a period or group of writers gets out of focus: twelve fascinating pages are accorded to Burns, only two to Congreve. Indeed, the handling of Restoration comedy is one of the real blemishes in Daiches's work. These cool, savage plays are among the glories of English style. The tough-minded moralist in Daiches seems to bridle at them.

But these are cavils. There is richness here for both specialist and general reader. By anchoring Scotland so firmly to his general view of English literature, Daiches has gone beyond many of his predecessors. His account of Middle English prose and verse is as lucid as any yet available to the layman. Time and again, one delights in the catholicity of his taste and in the robust honesty of his judgment. By his bold venture and the measure of its success, Daiches has dealt a blow at the arid pedantry and narrowness that infect so much of contemporary literary scholarship, particularly in English and American universities. May the blow carry home!

Save up to 50%
ON
LIFE, TRUE, LOOK, TV GUIDE *and dozens more!*



SEND 10¢
FOR THIS NEW BLUE BOOK OF MAGAZINE SAVINGS!

IMAGINE GETTING Vogue for only 31¢ instead of 60¢ . . . American Home for 12½¢ . . . Time 7½¢ . . . Parents' 14½¢ . . . Popular Science 14½¢. Imagine saving as much on *almost any* of your favorite magazines!

Simply send 10¢ for the new 28-page Blue Book of Magazine Savings. It contains 70 Savings Stamps which you can use just like money to get America's leading magazines — at tremendous reductions off regular prices. Even if you buy only one magazine a year, this book will save you money. Mail coupon for it NOW!

IMPORTANT: When these Blue Books are gone, none will be available until next year's edition is ready. So send this coupon with your dime today — while there is still time!

Publishers Clearing House, Dept. 911
382 Main St., Port Washington, N. Y.

Send me your new Blue Book of Magazine Savings — and 70 valuable Savings Stamps. Enclosed is 10¢ for postage and handling.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone....

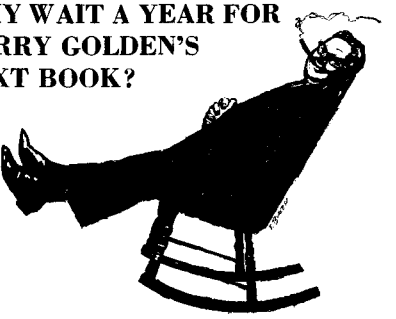
State.....

Good only in U.S., its possessions, and Canada

MAIL EARLY FOR CHRISTMAS

Finished *Enjoy, Enjoy!* ?

WHY WAIT A YEAR FOR HARRY GOLDEN'S NEXT BOOK?

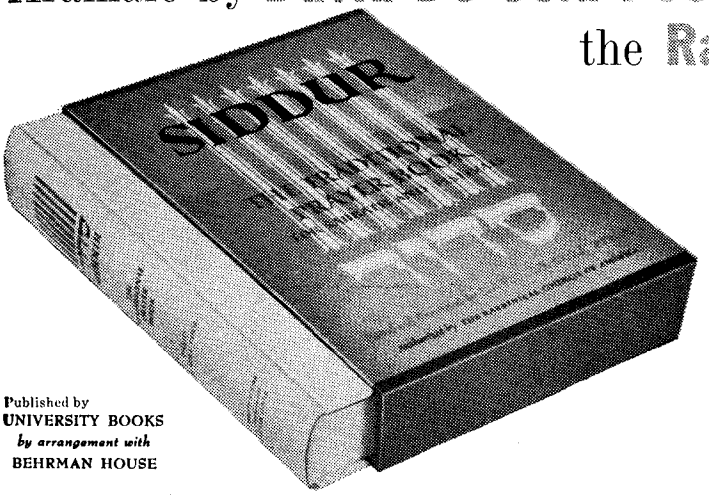


Subscribe to *The Carolina Israelite* (now 53,089 subscriptions) . . . America's most widely read, and most widely quoted personal journal. For you: $3 year. For your friends: $3 year. *The Carolina Israelite*, 1312 Elizabeth Avenue, Charlotte, North Carolina.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

now, after 300 years, the first authorized American translation

You are invited to discover the majesty, poetry, and reverent beauty of the great ritual heritage of traditional Judaism as received, enriched, and transmitted from generation to generation from ancient times to the present. Translated from the original Hebrew and Aramaic by **David De Sola Pool** and published by authority of the **Rabbinical Council of America**



Published by
UNIVERSITY BOOKS
by arrangement with
BEHRMAN HOUSE

the Traditional Prayer Book

FOR SABBATH AND FESTIVALS

סדור

ADVANCE PRESENTATION OFFER FOR A LIMITED TIME ONLY!

סדור The ancient and majestic *Siddur* is the traditional prayer book of the Jew. It is also one of the oldest books in America. Its history in this country can be traced back more than three hundred years, and it was printed in New York ten years before the Declaration of Independence.

Almost as much as the Bible itself, this is the book that has shaped the lives of the People of the Book. Its words have echoed down through time, chanted with joy and whispered in consolation, across every age and every landscape in which Jews have lived and praised God. Few books have exercised so profound an effect upon the mind of Western civilization. The influence of the *Siddur* upon the prayer and ritual of Christianity has been monumental.

AN EPOCH-MAKING TRANSLATION In 1946, the Rabbinical Council of America made the epoch-making decision to authorize at long last an official translation of the traditional prayer book into English.

The staggering task of amassing, studying, verifying and translating the source materials drawn from more than 2,000 years of Hebrew literature—as well as earlier translations into Greek, Arabic, medieval French and Spanish, German, and a score of other languages—was entrusted to one of the great Hebrew scholars of our time, David de Sola Pool, Rabbi Emeritus of the oldest Jewish Congregation in America, the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in New York.

Assisted by a committee of experts appointed by the Council, Dr. de Sola Pool labored for fourteen years of intensive and dedicated study to prepare this long-awaited translation.

סדור **To turn its pages (arranged from right to left in the traditional sequence, with Hebrew and English on facing pages) is to open a great door that has always before been sealed to those who could not devote a lifetime to the mastery of Hebrew.**

Here before your eyes at long last is the authentic *Siddur* based on the highest traditional authorities, lovingly and reverently translated into the English of today, and re-creating without flaw not only the meaning and spirit but the very mood and cadence that give the traditional *Siddur* its unforgettable grandeur.

When the last of the Biblical prophets had spoken, it was in the *Siddur* that the spiritual vision of the Jews continued to speak and to sing in creative ecstasy. The modern reader will find in it the most authentic expression of the unique civilization that produced rabbinical Judaism, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and early Christianity as well.

THE ESSENCE OF TRADITIONAL JUDAISM FOR THE MODERN READER

To the American Jew in search of his legacy, its revelations will be not only enriching and inspiring but often surprising too.

If you think of the traditional Hebrew Sabbath as a time of Puritanical bleakness, see the merriment of the service beginning on page 31.

See, too, the classic expression of the uniquely Jewish reverence for the human body...the absence of preoccupation with sin and the state of one's soul...the emphasis on the glorification of God in even the most physical of acts (the concept implied in the word "carnal" is unknown in Judaism)...the implicit democracy of a ritual in which no clergyman stands between the people and their God (as you will see, there are no prayers or actions that must be performed by a rabbi; his presence is not even required)...the radiant optimism of a liturgy which reflects not the tragedies of Jewish history but the serenity of the Jew's eternal trust in God.

SIDDUR: THE TRADITIONAL PRAYER BOOK FOR SABBATH AND FESTIVALS will be published in a deluxe Presentation Edition of 896 pages (7¼" x 10½") magnificently bound in gold-stamped white leather and enduring blue library cloth, and slipcased in a handsome gift box. Dr. de Sola Pool has contributed an historical Introduction and authoritative notes on the major prayers and ceremonies. The Hebrew type used is a classic face chosen for its simplicity, beauty, and traditional character. The English typeface is Times Roman, a new type selected for this book because of its clarity and distinction.

סדור

ADVANCE PRESENTATION PRICE A work of such size and scope and richness would ordinarily be priced at $25.00 or more. However, large first printings will make possible, for a short time, a price of $17.50. But you can save even more by reserving your copy now. In return for placing your order now, you will receive the book at an advance presentation price of only $12.50. Mail coupon to the address below.

advance reservation form

UNIVERSITY BOOKS, New Hyde Park, N. Y.

Please send me an advance presentation copy of SIDDUR: THE TRADITIONAL PRAYER BOOK FOR SABBATH AND FESTIVALS, translated by David de Sola Pool and published by authority of The Rabbinical Council of America. If it does not live up to my highest expectations, I may return it within two weeks. Otherwise I shall pay for it at the advance presentation price of only $12.50 (plus postage and handling)—even if the final price is higher than the $17.50 now anticipated.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

☐ SAVE! Enclose $12.50 and publisher pays postage and handling. Mail at once to take advantage of this special offer.

(Offer expires Dec. 31, 1960) PT-6

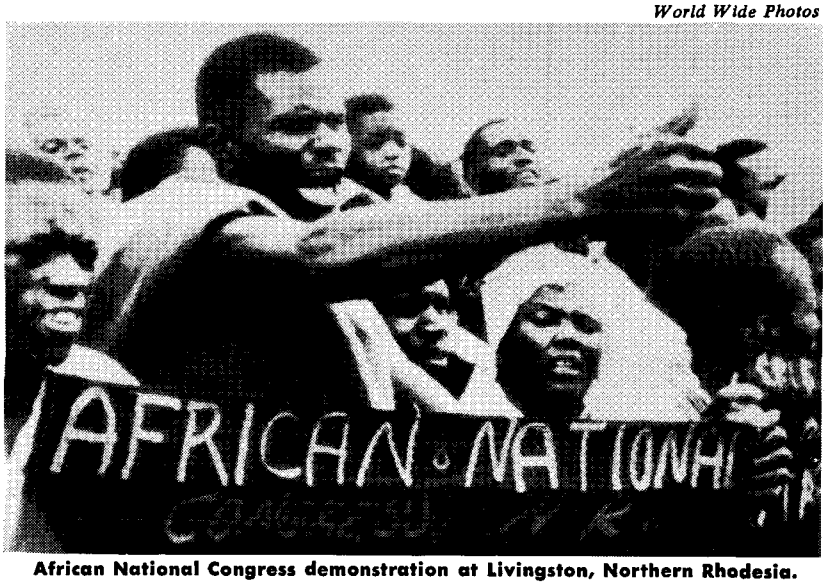
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The passions that move men to create history...

The passions that move men to create history may be peculiar to the time and place, but their consequences are the legacy of us all. Just as our lives today are shaped in part by Sir Francis Drake's defeat of the Spanish Armada—so is our future now being perceptibly altered by the seething aspirations of people in Rhodesia, Havana, Jakarta and Peiping.

For a meaningful understanding of the present, the thoughtful reader seeks new insights in the fascinating panorama of the past. To help you do so—at substantial savings—we invite you to membership in The History Book Club.

World Wide Photos



African National Congress demonstration at Livingston, Northern Rhodesia.

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB INVITES YOU TO ACCEPT

ANY THREE BOOKS of HISTORY and WORLD AFFAIRS – FREE

VALUES UP TO $27.50 – YOURS FREE

287. GRANT MOVES SOUTH, *by* **Bruce Catton.** Through the critical Vicksburg campaign with the redoubtable Union commander — "Catton's best book." *The New York Times.* LIST PRICE $6.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.25

294. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, *by* **Leonard Schapiro.** How a militant party "elite" seizes and exercises ruling power—from 1870 to Khrushchev. 631 pages. LIST PRICE $7.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.75

101. HISTORY OF THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF: 1657-1945, *by* **Walter Goerlitz.** From Clausewitz to Rommel—508 pages, 31 photographs. LIST PRICE $7.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.65

229. THE SEVEN CAVES, *by* **Carleton S. Coon.** The secrets of man's past, as unearthed in ancient cave dwellings. LIST PRICE $5.75 MEMBER'S PRICE $4.50

260. KITCHENER: Portrait of an Imperialist, *by* **Sir Philip Magnus.** LIST PRICE $6.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.25

168. ARMS AND MEN: A Study in American Military History, *by* **Walter Millis.** LIST PRICE $5.75 MEMBER'S PRICE $4.65

278. MEMOIRS OF FIELD MARSHAL MONTGOMERY. His outspoken recollections, including his differences with American commanders. LIST PRICE $6.00 MEMBER'S PRICE $4.95

261. THE AGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION: Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800, *by* **R. R. Palmer.** LIST PRICE $7.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.45

256. TWELVE WHO RULED: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution, *by* **R. R. Palmer.** LIST PRICE $6.95 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.25

275. ALEXANDER HAMILTON: Portrait in Paradox, *by* **John C. Miller.** LIST PRICE $8.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.95

263. GODS AND MEN: Origins of Western Culture, *by* **Henry B. Parkes.** LIST PRICE $7.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.95

274. THE ARMADA, *by* **Garrett Mattingly.** The current best-seller, focusing on the 16th century struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. LIST PRICE $6.00 MEMBER'S PRICE $4.95

THE WAR FOR THE UNION
279. Improvised War, 1861-2.
350. War Becomes Revolution, 1862-3. First two volumes of a major new work on the Civil War by the great historian, **Allan Nevins.** LIST PRICE $7.50 EACH MEMBER'S PRICE $5.95 EACH *(Take either or both volumes; each counts as one selection.)*

297. BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE: The Potsdam Conference, *by* **Herbert Feis.** The controversial Truman-Churchill-Stalin meeting of July, 1945—and how it shaped international relations of the last fifteen years. LIST PRICE $6.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.65

265. WINSTON CHURCHILL: MEMOIRS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. Massive, new one-vol. edition. LIST PRICE $8.75 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.95

170. THE MASTERS AND THE SLAVES, *by* **Gilberto Freyre.** The growth of the fascinating "melting pot" culture of Brazil—seen in its arts, climate, economics, politics, races, religion and sexual practices. LIST PRICE $8.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.75

240. THE MIDDLE EAST IN TRANSITION, *edited by* **Walter Z. Laqueur.** LIST PRICE $8.75 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.95

227. VICTORY: THE LIFE OF LORD NELSON, *by* **Oliver Warner.** LIST PRICE $6.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $4.95

289. COMMUNIST CHINA AND ASIA, *by* **A. Doak Barnett.** An objective and sobering picture of the raw power now challenging the West. LIST PRICE $6.95 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.25

245. A HISTORY OF MILITARISM, Civilian and Military, *by* **Alfred Vagts.** LIST PRICE $7.50 MEMBER'S PRICE $5.95

351. LORD BURGHLEY AND QUEEN ELIZABETH, *by* **Conyers Read.** LIST PRICE $10.00 MEMBER'S PRICE $6.95

ENDURING WORKS BY LEADING INTERPRETERS AND EYE-WITNESSES OF HISTORY—at substantial savings

A SERVICE for readers who recognize and value their links with the eternal human drama, The History Book Club regularly offers its members the most stimulating and informative writing in every important area of history and world affairs. Listed here are 22 typical selections, ranging from brilliant re-creations of the ancient world to illuminating analyses of yesterday's—and tomorrow's—headlines. By joining now, you may obtain any one of them at the reduced member's price indicated—and choose three additional books *free* (retail value as high as $27.50) as an introductory gift.

As a member, nearly 100 outstanding selections and alternates in fine permanent editions will be available to you at reduced Club prices, plus a small charge for postage and handling. You need take as few as four more of these during the next twelve months—and with every fourth purchase thereafter, you receive a valuable book of your choice *free,* as a bonus. Your savings (with bonuses) will average 40%, and often more.

Here is a convenient, economical way to enrich your family library with books you will read with delight and return to often for reference. May we suggest you fill in the coupon now, while all of these important works remain in ample supply?

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB, Stamford, Conn.

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB RR-3831
Stamford, Connecticut

Please enroll me in the Club and send at once my three *free* books and first membership selection, as indicated below. Bill me for my first selection at the reduced member's price, plus a small charge for postage and handling. I agree to take four more selections or alternates during the coming year at reduced member's prices. (These will be described in your monthly REVIEW, and I may reject any selection merely by returning the convenient form always provided.) With every fourth purchase thereafter, I will choose a valuable bonus book.

FREE BOOKS (fill in three numbers)			SELECTION (fill in one number)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

In Canada, same savings. Books shipped from Toronto duty free. Bonus plan differs slightly. Mail to 2847 Danforth Ave., Toronto 13, Ont.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Napoléon donnant l'ordre avant la Bataille d'Austerlitz. Peinture par Antoine Charles Vernet. (Musée de Versailles.)

Napoleon giving his orders before the battle of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805. Defeating the combined Russian and Austrian armies, Napoleon described the battle as "the finest of all I have fought."

COURVOISIER

COGNAC

Great products, like great figures of history, acquire enduring fame. So with Courvoisier Cognac. It is the ***Brandy of Napoleon***—from whose day to this Courvoisier has been the choice of kings and statesmen and all who can command the finest. Enjoy it for its matchless flavour and bouquet—*pour la gloire* it perpetuates.

Imported by W. A. Taylor & Company, New York, N. Y. Sole Distributors for the U.S.A.

*COURVOISIER COGNAC—AND COURVOISIER ONLY—BEARS THIS REGISTERED PHRASE ON EVERY BOTTLE. REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

SPECIAL OFFER IN FRENCH CRYSTALWARE—Four Courvoisier snifter glasses, about 3½ inches tall, with Napoleonic emblem in permanent gold design. Shipped to you from France. Send $1 cash, check or money order *payable to T. V.*, P. O. Box 1205, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y. Dept. R-1.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED